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SĀRASIDDHĀNTAKAUMUDĪ

OF

VARADARĀJA

EDITED WITH

Introduction, Translation, and Critical & Exegetical Notes

by

G. V. DEVASTHALI

UNIVERSITY OF POONA

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PREFACE

The present edition of the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* is based on four MSS, two of which belong to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and one to the Vaidika Saṁśhodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, and I am obliged to the authorities of these Institutions for having made them avaible to me.

For this edition I have derived ample help from various works like *MBh, Kāś, Pbh,* etc., and more particularly *BM* (an excellent commentary on Bh's *SK*), BALLANTYNE's edition of *LSK,* and also the commentary on *LSK* by Uddhavaji SHASTRI.

Besides these *pūrva sūris,* I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my friend and colleague Dr. S. D. JOSHI for carefully going through the *MS* and making very valuable suggestions, which have considerably enhanced the value of the work. Thanks are also due to two other colleagues–to Shri S. N. BHAVASAR for voluntarily undertaking the arduous task of going through the proofs and to Dr. S. D. LADDU for the 'Select Bibliography' given at the end.

Nor can I forget here the Spicer College Press who have spared no pains to give the work a nice printing and get up.

Finally, I have no words to express my indebtedness to our Director, Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, whose sympathetic encouragement has been a constant source of inspiration to me.

I have however, to crave the indulgence of my readers for the *errata,* which could not be avoided, and at the same time to request them to make their valuable suggestions for improvement which will be gratefully received.

University of Poona

August 15, 1968. G. V. DEVASTHALI

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ABBREVIATIONS

A

Authors and Works

Bh	Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita
BM	*Bālamanoramā* (comm. on SK)
BŚŚ	*Bṛhat-Śabdenduśekhara*
DSG	*Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar* (Professor K. V. ABHYANKAR)
GRM	*Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*
Jñā	*Subodhinī* (Comm. on *SK* by Jñānendra-sarasvati)
K, Kāt	Kātyāyana
Kā, Kāś	*Kāśikā*
LSK	*Laghu-Siddhāntakaumudī*
MBh	*Mahābhāṣya* (of Patañjali)
MSK	*Madhya-Siddhāntakaumudī*
MW	Sanskrit English Dictionary (by Monier WILLIAMS)
N	Nāgeśa
Nandi-kā	*Nandikeśvarakārikā* (or *kāśikā*)
P	Pāṇini
PA	*Aṣṭādhyāyī* (of Pāṇini)
Pat	Patañjali
Pbh	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (of Nāgeśa)

pbh	*paribhāṣā*
PM	*Prauḍhamanoramā*
PŚ	*Pāṇinīya Śikṣā*
RV	*Ṛgveda*
ṚV. Pr	*Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya*
Śiva, ŚŚ	*Śivasūtra*
SK	*Siddhāntakaumudī*
SSK	*Sāra-Siddhāntakaumudī*
V	Varadarāja
vā	*vārttika*
VBK	*Vaidikapadānukramakośa* (VISHVA BANDHU)
VP	*Vākyapadīya*
VPr	*Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*
YV	*Yajurveda*

B

GRAMMATICAL TERMS

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
aor.	aorist
ātmp.	ātmanepada
Bah. Vṛ	Bahuvrīhi
Bened.	Benedictive
cl.	class
Cond.	Conditional

cpd.	Compound
Denom.	Denominative
Desid.	Desiderative
du.	dual
f., fem.	feminine
Fut.	Future
gen.	genitive
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
instr.	instrumental
loc.	locative
masc.	masculine
neut.	neuter
obj.	object
parasmp.	parasmaipada
part.	participle
pass.	passive
Pf.	Perfect
plr.	plural
Pot.	Potential
Pr.	Present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular
tatp	tatpuruṣa

INTRODUCTION

Varadarāja is well known as the author of *LSK* (containing 1381 rules), which is a smaller or shorter abridgement of Bh's *SK*. *MSK* (containing 2315 *sūtras*, another abridgement of *SK*, is also known and published, but not so widely studied as the former. *SSK* (containing 723 rules), critically edited here for the first time, is but little known, though its MSS have been noticed in several catalogues. The author of these three abridgements, Varadarāja, in the introductory stanza of his works refers to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (1560-1620 A.D.) as his *guru*, which may justify us in placing him somewhere in the first half of the 17th century A.D. To judge from the abridgements he has made of *SK*, Varadarāja appears to have been an able teacher interested in the propagation of SK studies, though he does not appear to have made a mark as an erudite *vaiyākaraṇa* by writing learned commentaries or treatises*.

The present edition of *SSK* is based on the following four MSS:

1 and 2, here referred to as B1 and B2, have been described in the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in Government Mss. Library* (BORI) Vol. II, Part-I, Nos. 206 and 207 respectively.

3, here referred to as V, belongs to the *Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala* (श्रौबा व्याकरणराशि २९); country paper; 33 folios; 10″ x 4¾″; 12 lines in a page and about 30 letters in a line; Devanāgarī character; complete; dated Śaka 1712.

4, here referred to as D; from the Editor's collection; country paper; 36 folios; 9¾″ x 4¼″; 10 lines in a page and about 35 letters in a line; Devanāgarī character; complete; about 150 years old.

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*For a more detailed information about Varadarāja and his works see Prof. P. K. Gode's article in *Festschrift Kane* pp. 188-199.

The *sūtras,* the *vārttikas,* etc., are printed in black type and have been serially numbered, the last number being 723; while the *vṛtti* thereon has been printed in the ordinary type under each number. After each *sūtra* of Pāṇini is shown the exact position which that *sūtra* occupies in the *Sūtrapāṭha* (as printed in the *Word Index to the Pāṇinīya Sūtrapāṭha,* compiled by PATHAK and CHITRAV, pp. 461-648). There are hardly any variants in the readings of P's *sūtras.* In one place (No. 511), however, where a difference was observed, we have adopted the reading supported by our MSS and also found in some edtions of *SK*, and accepted by *BM* and *BŚŚ.* The variant reading here is *saṁparyupebhyaḥ karotau bhūṣaṇe* (*PA* 6.1.133).

In the *vṛtti* our author has, on the whole, drawn quite closely upon Bh's work, though in some cases he has introduced slight changes in order to avoid confusion. Thus, for example, in No. 551 in the *vṛtti* V read *iḥ,* where all editions of *SK* (and also the editions of *LSK* and *MSK*) read *it* (as in the original *sūtra*). This evidently is to avoid the confusion that is likely to be caused by the word *it.*

But the hand of V is clearly indicated by several factors, which even a cursory comparison of *SSK* with *SK* is enough to reveal. Some of these are as follows:—

(1) While copying Bh's *vṛtti,* V has eschewed as many words from it as possible without sacrificing the main point and at the same time without causing obscurity or ambiguity.

(2) He has dropped a very large number of rules and retained the least number that he felt to be absolutely necessary for a broad but complete understanding of all the main topics.

(3) He has introduced suitable changes in the order of the rules (as adopted by *Bh*) in view of his own treatment of the topic under consideration.

(4) Broadly speaking, he has covered all the topics as found in Bh's *SK;* but he has occasionally compressed two or more topics of Bh into one.

(5) He has also changed the order of the topics, and has arranged them in a more convenient manner. Taking *vākya* as a linguistic unit, V thought it advisable to deal with *saṁdhi, subanta* (declension including *avyayas*), *tiṅanta* (conjugation including *lakārārtha*), and *kṛdanta*. Then he has taken *subartha* (syntax). With the help of all these a student becomes well equipped for interpreting ordinary or simple sentences. Then follow the *prakaraṇas* dealing with the remaining two varieties of *prātipadika* (namely *samāsa* and *taddhita*), and the work concludes with a section on the only remaining topic, namely feminine formations. This may well explain the logical, and perhaps even psychological, nature of the arrangement of the various sections adopted by V. The first section naturally deals with *saṁjñās* as in *SK*. But the *paribhāṣā* section is altogether avoided, the *paribhāṣā sūtras* being introduced at various places as and when the need for them is felt.

V's attempt to attain utmost simplicity is also discernible at several points in this work. A few of these may be noted here:—

(1) He has avoided the discussion about the *sūtra halantyam* (No. 1) by tacitly assuming the word *hal* to mean a consonant.

(2) He has declared the *ābhyantara prayatna* (p 5) to be fivefold (apparently on the authority of Patañjali) and has thus been able to leave out the complicated *sūtra, nājjhalau.*

(3) He has purposely remained silent about the *pratyāhāra ra* (and avoided all discussion about it), though under No. 29 he has given two illustrations, namely *kṛṣnarddhiḥ* and *tavalkāraḥ.*

(4) In No. 291 he has adopted the shorter course, namely *ṭilopa*, instead of the usual longer process.

(5) He has avoided pointing out the possible double paradigms of neut. adjectives ending in *i*, *u* and *ṛ* (No. 232).

In one place (No. 620) at least, he has shown his originality (or even boldness) by proposing *yogavibhāga*, which has been done neither by Bh, nor by ancient authorities like Pat.

It may thus be seen that, in *SSK*, V has used his ingenuity and also skill or practical experience as a teacher to simplify an abstruse subject like SK Grammar, and, even without his being aware of it, to introduce the young student to all the important topics of SK Grammar as also the important aspects of its technique such as *saṁjñā*, *paribhāṣā*, and also *anubandhas* with the purposes they are made to serve. Taking into consideration the extent of the three abridgements, we may well describe them as a series of concentric manuals of SK. Grammar, and *SSK* as the most elementary among them.

शुद्धिपत्रम्

नियमाङ्क	पङ्क्तिः	अशुद्धम्	शुद्धम्
५	३	ह्स्व	ह्रस्व
२३	१	समानानाम्	समानाम्
४०	२	होतृकारः	होतॄकारः
४८	२	गङ्गे	गङ्गे
७४	२	परस्य धुट्	परस्य सस्य धुट्
८५	२	विर्गस्य	विसर्गस्य
९८	१	ङसोसाङयोः	ङसोसाम्ङयोः
१०१	१	व्द्येक	ह्व्येक
११९	२	य दौ	यञादौ
१२५	२	ङस्येकारः	ङस्यैकारः
१५१	२	हरय	हरये
१५८	२	दीर्घो	दीर्घौ
१६०	१	न लोपः	नलोपः
१७०	३	कदीनाम	कतीनाम्
१७२	४	पद्ये	पथ्ये
१८२	१	शास्तॄ।णम्	शास्तॄणाम्
१८७	१	ओ	ओः
१९२	१	शसौः	शसोः
१९५	२	ओकार	औकार

२००	१	नद्योर	नद्यो
२४२	२	एत्येध योऽ	एत्येधत्यो:
३०१	१	भ्यासो	भ्यसो
३१९	१	तिरस्ति	तिरसस्ति
३३५	२	अह: अह्नी	अह: अह्नी
३४३	२	सामर्यात्	सामर्थ्यात्
३७५	२	डित्व	डित्त्व
४१२	१	वा य:	वाच्य:
४३२	१	असंयोगात्	असंयोगा
४३६	२	आगौप्सीः	अगौप्सी:
५३२	२	वयज्वा	क्यज्वा
५९८	१	अव्यय	अव्ययं
६०५	२	तद तस्य	तदन्तस्य
६०७	२	सम प्ते	समाप्ते
६५२	१	सप्तम्याः	सप्तम्या:

p. 17 foot-note line 3 last word: read एहि

॥ सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी ॥

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥[1]

नत्वा वरदराजः श्रीपाणिन्यादिमुनित्रयम्।
करोति[2] बालबोधाय सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदीम्॥

अ इ उ ण्। ऋ ऌ क्। ए ओ ङ्। ऐ औ च्। ह य व र ट्।
ल ण्। ञ म ङ ण न म्। झ भ ञ्। घ ढ ध ष्। ज ब ग ड द श्।
ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त व्। क प य्। श ष स र्। ह ल्।

इति सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्थानि। हकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थः।[3]

१ **हलन्त्यम्** ॥ १.३.३ ॥
उपदेशेऽन्त्यं हल् इत् स्यात्। उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम्।

SALUTATION TO LORD GAṆEŚA

Having made salutation to the triad of sages commencing with Pāṇini, Varadarāja is composing the *Sārasiddhānta-kaumudī* for the enlightenment of the young (scholars).

a i uṇ; etc.

These aphorisms are (meant) for the (formation of) *aṇ* and such other technical designations. The vowel *a* in the letters *ha* etc. (in the aphorisms) is (appended) for (ease of) pronunciation.

1. The final consonant (1.3.3)

In *upadeśa,* the final consonant is mute (*it*). An *upadeśa* (signifies) the original enunciation.

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१ B_2 श्रीमन्नित्यकुञ्जविहारी राधाकृष्णो विजयतेतमाम्।

२ D °मि

३ V adds after this लण्मध्ये त्वित्संज्ञकः.

२ **अदर्शनं लोपः** ॥ १.१.६० ॥

प्रसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात्।

३ **तस्य लोपः** ॥ १.३.९ ॥

तस्येतो लोपः स्यात्।

४ **आदिरन्त्येन सहेता** ॥ १.१.७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्यात्। यथा अण् इति अइउवर्णानां संज्ञा। एवं अच् हल् अल् इत्यादयः।

५ [1]**ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः** ॥ १.२.२७ ॥

उश्च ऊश्च ऊ3श्च वः। वां काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽच् क्रमाद्

2. Disappearance (is) *lopa* (elision) (1.1.60).

Disappearance of some thing, which is expected to appear, is termed *lopa*.

3. Of it, elision (1.3.9).

Of the *it* (mute letter), there is elision.

4. The initial (letter) together with the final mute letter. (1.1.71).

Together with the final mute letter, the initial letter is the technical designation for itself and the intervening (letters). Thus *aṇ* is the technical designation for the letters *a, i, u.* Similarly (are formed) *ac, hal, al,* etc.

5. The vowel, having the morae like those of (the vowel) *u, ū,* and *ū3,* is (designated) short, long, and prolated (respectively) (1.2.27).

(Short) *u* and (long) *ū* and (prolated) *ū3* = *vaḥ*. The

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१ B_1 उकालो°

-ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञः स्यात्। स प्रत्येकमुदात्तादिभेदेन त्रिधा।

६ **उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ १.२.२९ ॥**

७ **नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥१.२.३०॥**

८ **समाहारः स्वरितः ॥१.२.३१॥**

स नवविधोऽपि प्रत्येकमनुनासिकाननुनासिकत्वाभ्यां द्विधा।

९ **मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः ॥१.१.८॥**

मुखसहितनासिकयोच्चार्यमाणो[1]ऽनुनासिकः स्यात्। तदित्थम् अ इ उ ऋ एषां[2] प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः। ऌवर्णस्य द्वादश तस्य दीर्घाभावात्। एचामपि द्वादश तेषां ह्रस्वाभावात्।[3]

vowel, whose time (mora) is like that of these three *ūs* respectively, is designated as *hrasva* (short), *dīrgha* (long), and *pluta* (prolated) respectively. Each one of these again is threefold according to the division of *udātta* (acute) etc.

6. (That) with a high tone (is) *udātta* (1.2.29).

7. (That) with a low tone (*is*) *anudātta* (1.2.30).

8. A combination (of these is) *svarita* (1.2.31).

This ninefold (vowel) is further twofold owing to nasality or non-nasality (therein).

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth (is) nasal (1.1.8).

That which is pronounced by the nose together with the mouth is nasal. Thus, the letters *a, i, u,* and *ṛ* have, each of them, eighteen varieties. The letter *ḷ* (has only) twelve, because it has no long (varieties). The letters *e, o, ai* and *au* also (have only) twelve, because they have no short (varieties).

---

१ V. °णो वर्णोऽनु° २ V adds वर्णानां after एषाम्।

३ B. This sentence omitted

१० **तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्** ॥ १-१-९ ॥

ताल्वादि स्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येतद् द्वयं यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णं स्यात्।

११ **ॠऌवर्णयोर्मिथः सावर्ण्यं वाच्यम्** ॥

अकुहविसर्जनीयानां कण्ठः। इचुयशानां तालु[1]। ॠटुरषाणां मूर्धा। ऌतुलसानां दन्ताः। उपूपध्मानीयानामोष्ठौ। ञमङणनानां नासिका च। एदैतोः कण्ठतालु। ओदौतोः कण्ठोष्ठम्। वकारस्य दन्तोष्ठम्। जिह्वामूलीयस्य जिह्वामूलम्। नासिकानुस्वारस्य।

10. That, which has similar (place in the) mouth and effort, (is) homogeneous (1.1.9).

Those letters, which have the two, namely the place (of origination in the mouth) palate etc. and the internal effort, in common (or the same), are mutually homogeneous.

11. The letters *ṛ* and *ḷ* must be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

The throat (is the organ) of *a*, the letters of the *kavarga*, *h*, and *visarga;* the palate, of *i*, the letters of the *cavarga*, *y*, and *ś;* the head, of *ṛ*, the letters of the *ṭavarga*, *r*, and *ṣ;* the teeth, of *ḷ*, the letters of the *tavarga*, *l*, and *s;* the lips, of *u*, the letters of the *pavarga*, and the *upadhmānīya;* (the mouth) and the nose, of *ñ*, *m*, *ṅ*, *ṇ*, and *n;* the throat and the palate, of *e* and *ai;* the throat and the lip, of *o* and *au;* the teeth and the lip, of the letter *v;* the root of the tongue, of the *jihvāmūlīya;* the nose, of the *anusvāra.*

---

१ B_1 तालुः

यत्नो[२] द्विधा। आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च। आद्यः पञ्चधा। स्पृष्टेषत्स्पृष्टेषद्विवृतविवृतसंवृतभेदात्। तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयत्नम् स्पर्शानाम्[३]। ईषत्स्पृष्टं यणाम्[४]। ईषद्विवृतं शलाम्[५]। विवृतमचाम्[६]। ह्रस्वस्यावर्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम्। प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतमेव।

[७]बाह्यस्त्वेकादशधा। विवारः संवारः श्वासो नादो घोषोऽघोषोऽल्पप्राणो महाप्राण उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितश्चेति। खरो विवाराः श्वासा अघोषाश्च। हशः संवारा नादा घोषाश्च। वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा[८] यणश्चाल्पप्राणाः। [९]वर्गाणां द्वितीयचतुर्थौ शलश्च महाप्राणाः। [१०]कादयो मावसानाः

Effort is of two kinds, internal and external. The former is fivefold according to the division, namely touched, slightly touched, slightly open, open, and contracted. Of these, the touched effort belongs to the letters (designated) *sparśa* slightly touched, to the semi-vowels (*yaṇ*); slightly open, to the letters *ś, ṣ, s* and *h* (*śal*); open, to the vowels. Of the short *a* in actual parlance (the effort is) contracted; but in the process of a grammatical operation, it is open only.

The external (effort) is of eleven kinds; expansion (of the throat), contraction, sighing, sounding, low preparatory murmur, absence of such murmur, slight aspiration, strong aspiration, acute, grave, and circumflex. The (letters denoted by) *khar* have the *vivāra, śvāsa,* and *aghoṣa* effort. The *haś* have *saṁvāra, nāda,* and *ghoṣa* effort. The first, the third, and the fifth letters (of each) of the classes and the *yaṇ* have *alpaprāṇa;* the second and the fourth and the *śal* have *mahāprāṇa.*

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२ B_2 प्रयत्नो°

३ D ञयाम् for स्पर्शानाम्

४ B_2 अन्तःस्थानाम् for यणाम्

५ B_2 ऊष्मणाम् for शलाम्

६ B_2 स्वराणाम् for अचाम्

७ B_1 बाह्यप्रयत्न°

८ V °पञ्चमयणश्च°

९ Before this B_2 adds अन्ये महाप्राणाः।

१० B_2 D from कादयो up to स्वराः omitted.

स्पर्शाः। यणोऽन्तस्थाः। शल ऊष्माणः। अचः स्वराः। ᳵक ᳵख इति कखाभ्यां प्रागर्धविसर्गसदृशो जिह्वामूलीयः। ᳶप ᳶफ इति पफाभ्यां प्रागर्धविसर्गसदृश उपध्मानीयः। अं अः इत्यचः परावनुस्वारविसर्गौ।

१२ अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः॥ १.१.६९॥

अविधीयमानोऽणुदिच्च सवर्णस्य[१] संज्ञा स्यात्। अत्रैवाण्[२] परेण णकारेण। कु चु टु तु पु एते उदितः। तदेवम् अ इति अष्टादशानां संज्ञा।

Letters from *k* upto *m* are *sparśa;* the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *yaṇ* are *antaḥstha;* the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *śal* are *ūṣman;* the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *ac* are vowels; a character like half a *visarga,* standing before *k* or *kh,* is *jihvāmūlīya;* a character like half a *visarga,* standing before *p* or *ph,* is *upadhmānīya.* A character like a dot on the vowel is *anusvāra;* and one like two dots after a vowel is *visarga.*

12. (A letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *aṇ,* and also (a letter) having an indicatory *u,* (is the designation) of (its) homogeneous letters also, (when) not (enjoined as) a suffix. (1.1.69).

The letters denoted by (the *pratyāhāra*) *aṇ* and the letter with an indicatory *u* when not enjoined, is the designation of (itself and also) its homogeneous letters. Here alone (the *pratyāhāra*) *aṇ* is (to be taken as being formed) with the latter *ṇ*. The letters with an indicatory *u* are *ku, cu, ṭu, tu,* and *pu.* Thus *a* is the designation of (all) the eighteen (varieties of *a*);

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१ V सवर्णसंज्ञा

२ V अत्र अण्

तथेकारोकारौ। ऋकारस्त्रिंशतः। एवं ऌकारोऽपि। एचो[1] द्वादशानाम्। अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा। [2]तेनाननुनासिकास्ते द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा।

१३ **परः संनिकर्षः संहिता** ॥ १.१.१०९ ॥
वर्णानामतिशयितः संनिधिः संहितासंज्ञः।

१४ **हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः** ॥ १.१.७ ॥
अज्भिरव्यवहिता हलः संयोगसंज्ञाः[3] स्युः।

१५ **सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्** ॥ १.४.१४ ॥
सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

॥ इति संज्ञाप्रकरणम् ॥

so also the letters *i* and *u*. The letter *ṛ* (is the designation) of thirty (varieties); so also the letter *ḷ*. (The letters) *e, o, ai* and *au,* of twelve. The letters *y, v* and *l* are twofold according to the division of nasal and non-nasal. And as such these non-nasal letters are the designations of both.

13. The closest proximity (is) *saṁhitā* (1.1.109).

The utmost juxta-position or closeness of letters has the designation *saṁhitā* (combination).

14. Consonants unseparated (are) *saṁyoga* (1.1.7).

Consonants, not separated by vowels, have the designation *saṁyoga* (conjunct).

15. That which ends in *sup* or *tiṅ* (is) *pada* (1.4.14).

(A formation), ending in a case-ending (*sup*) or a personal ending (*tiṅ*), has the designation *pada* (word).

Thus ends (the section on) *saṁjñās*.

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१ D एचोऽपि

२ B_1 B_2 तेनानुना०

३ B_1 संयोगाः स्युः

(॥ अथ सन्धयः ॥)

१६ **इको यणचि** ॥ ६.१.७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण् स्यात् अचि संहितायाम्[१]। सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते।

१७ **तस्मिन् इति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य** ॥ १.१.६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य[२] बोध्यम्।

१८ **स्थानेऽन्ततरमः** ॥ १.१.५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः[३]।

16. In the place of *ik, yaṇ,* when *ac* follows (6.1.77).

In the place of *ik, yaṇ* is substituted, when it is followed by *ac* in combination. In the position: *sudhī upāsyaḥ.*

17. When an operation is enjoined by (a word in) the locative, (it) belongs to that which preceds immediately (1.1.66).

The operation enjoined by using (a word in) the locative case, should be understood to pertain to that which precedes without being intervened by any other letter.

18. (That which is) the most similar (or closest) in point of the place of generation. (1.1.50).

When a common term is enjoined as a substitute, the closest (section of it) is the (actual) substitute.

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१ V विषये added after संहितायाम्

२ D पूर्वस्य omitted

३ B_2 स्यात् added after आदेशः

१९ **संयोगान्तस्य लोपः**[1] ॥ ८.२.२३ ॥
संयोगान्तं यत् पदं तदन्तस्य लोपः।

२० **अलोऽन्त्यस्य** ॥ १.१.५२ ॥
षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टान्त्यस्यादेशः[2]। इति[3] प्राप्ते।

२१ **यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः** ॥
सुध्युपास्यः। मध्वरिः। धात्रंशः। लाकृतिः।

२२ **एचोऽयवायावः**[4] ॥ ६.१.७८ ॥
एचो अय् अव् आय् आव् स्युः अचि।

19. Elision (is substituted) in the place of (what) has a conjunct (consonant) for its final (8.2.23).

There is elision of the *pada,* which ends in a conjunct consonant.

20. In the place of the final *al* (1.1.52).

A substitute is of (or for) (only) the final (letter) of that which is mentioned in the genitive. In this position:

21. The prohibition in the case of *yaṇ* should be stated. *sudhyupāsyah, madhvariḥ, dhātraṁśaḥ, lākṛtiḥ.*

22. In the place of *ec* (are substituted) *ay, āy, av, āv* (6.1.78).

In the place of *ec* (i.e. *e, ai, o,* and *au*) are substituted *ay, āy, av,* and *āv* (respectively), when followed by *ac.*

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१ B_2 स्यात् added after लोपः
२ B_2 D °ष्टोऽन्त्यस्या°; B_1 °ष्टान्तस्या°
३ D adds लोपे after इति।
४ V adds एते after आव्.

२३ यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानानाम्[1] ॥ १.३.१० ॥

समसम्बन्धी विधिर्यथासंख्यं स्यात्। हरये। विष्णवे[2]। नायकः। पावकः।

२४ वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ६.१.७९ ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये परे[3] ओदौतोरवावौ स्तः। गव्यम्। नाव्यम्।

२५ अदेङ् गुणः ॥ १.१.२ ॥

अत् एङ् च[4] गुणसंज्ञः[5]।

23. The statement of (substitutes) equal in number is according to the order of enumeration (1.3.10).

An injunction pertaining to equal number (of the substitutes and the substituted) is according to the serial order. *haraye, viṣṇave, nāyakaḥ, pāvakaḥ.*

24. That which ends in *v* (will be the substitute), when a suffix beginning with *y* follows (6.1.79).

When a suffix beginning with *y* follows, in the place of *o* and *au*, *av* and *āv* are substituted. *gavyam, nāvyam.*

25. *at* (and) *eṅ* (have the designation) *guṇa* (1.1.2).

a (short) and *eṅ* (i.e. *e* and *o*) have the designation *guṇa.*

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१ B_2 D V समानाम्

२ B_1 reads विष्णवे after नायकः।

३ B_1 परे omitted

४ B_1 च omitted

५ B_2 V स्यात् added after °संज्ञः

२६ **तपरस्तत्कालस्य** ॥ १.१.७० ॥

तपरस्तात् परो वा उच्चार्यमाणः[1] समकालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् ।

२७ **आद् गुणः** ॥ ६.१.८७ ॥

अवर्णादचि पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणादेशः[2] । उपेन्द्रः । गङ्गोदकम् ।

२८ **उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्** ॥ १.३.२ ॥

उपदेशेऽनुनासिको अच् इत्संज्ञः स्यात्[3] । प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः । लण् सूत्रस्थावर्णेन सहोच्चार्यमाणो रेफो रलयोः संज्ञा ।

26. A *tapara* (vowel) is (the designation of (the vowel) (of) the same length (1.1.70).

A vowel uttered after *t* or followed by *t* is the designation for (the vowel) of the same length only.

27. After *a, guṇa* (6.1.87).

When an *ac* (a vowel) comes after the letter *a, guṇa* is the single substitute (for both) the former and the latter. *upendraḥ, gaṅgodakam.*

28. A nasal *ac* in an *upadeśa* is it. (1.3.2).

An *ac* (a vowel), which is nasal in the *upadeśa,* has the designation *it.* (The vowels) in (the grammar of) Pāṇini have nasality by declaration. The letter *r,* pronounced along with the letter *a* standing in the aphorism *laṇ,* is the designation of *r* and *l.*

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१ B_1 °र्यमाणसम°

२ B_1 B_2 स्यात् added after °देशः

३ DV omitted

२९ **उरण् रपरः ॥ १.१.५१ ॥**

ऋ इति त्रिंशतः संज्ञेत्युक्तम्। तत्स्थाने यो अण् स रपरः सन्नेव प्रवर्तते। कृष्णर्द्धिः। तवल्कारः।

३० **लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८.३.१९ ॥**

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्लोपो[1] वा अशि परे।

३१ **पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ॥ ८.२.१ ॥**

सपादसप्ताध्यायीं प्रति त्रिपाद्यसिद्धा। त्रिपाद्यामपि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धम्। हर इह। हरयिह। विष्ण इह। विष्णविह।

29. *aṇ*, (substituted) in the place of *ṛ*, is (always) followed by *ra* (1.1.51).

It has been already stated that *ṛ* is the designation of the thirty (varieties). The *aṇ* (to be substituted) in the place of it, is always followed by *ra* (i.e. *r. l*). *kṛṣṇarddhiḥ, tavalkāraḥ.*

30. Elision (in the opinion) of Śākalya (8.3.19).

Elision is optionally substituted in the place of *y* and *v*, standing at the end of a *pada*, (and) preceded by the letter *a*, when *aś* follows.

31. In connection with what precedes, not established. (8.2.1).

The last three quarters (of *PA*) are (as good as) not established in connection with the seven chapters and a quarter (of the eighth, of *PA*); and in the three quarters also, (each) subsequent aphorism is (as good as) not established in connection with the preceding. *hara iha, harayiha; viṣṇa iha, viṣṇaviha.*

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१ V वा लोपो instead of लोपो वा

३२ **वृद्धिरादैच्** ॥ १.१.१ ॥
आत् ऐच् च वृद्धिसंज्ञः[१]।

३३ **वृद्धिरेचि** ॥ ६.१.८८ ॥
आदेचि वृद्धिरेकादेशो गुणापवादः। कृष्णैकत्वम्। गङ्गौघः। देवैश्वर्यम्। कृष्णौत्कण्ठ्यम्।

३४ **उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे** ॥ १.४.५९ ॥
प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञाः[२]। प्र परा अप सम् अनु अव निर् निस् दुर् दुस् वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उत् अभि प्रति परि उप एते प्रादयः।

३५ **भूवादयो धातवः** ॥ १.३.१ ॥
क्रियावाचिनो भ्वादयो धातुसंज्ञाः[३]।

32. *āt* (and) *aic* (have the designation) *vṛddhi* (1.1.1).

ā and *aic* have the designation *vṛddhi*.

33. When *ec* follows, *vṛddhi*. (6.1.88).

When after *a*, *ec* follows, *vṛddhi* is the single substitute (for both). An exception to *guṇa* (enjoined by 6.1.87, No. 27 above). *kṛṣṇaikatvam, gaṅgaughaḥ, devaiśvaryam, kṛṣṇautkaṇṭhyam.*

34. *Upasargas*, when connected with a verb (1.4.59).

pra and others, when connected with a verb, have the designation *upasarga*. (They are) *pra, parā, apa, sam, anu, ava*, etc.

35. *Bhū, vā* etc. (are) *dhātus* (1.3.1)

Bhū etc., expressive of action, have the designation *dhātu*.

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१ B_1 Add स्यात् after °संज्ञः

२ B_2 °संज्ञकाः

३ V स्युः added after °संज्ञाः

३६ उपसर्गाद् ऋति धातौ ॥ ६.१.९१ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गात् ऋकारादौ धातौ[१] वृद्धिरेकादेशः। प्रार्च्छति।

३७ एङि पररूपम् ॥ ६.१.९४ ॥

आदुपसर्गात् एङादौ धातौ [२]पररूपमेकादेशः[३]। प्रेजते। उपोषति[४]।

३८ अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ १.१.६४ ॥

अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः स आदिर्यस्य तत् टिसंज्ञं स्यात्।

36. When after an *upasarga,* a root beginning with *ṛ* (short) follows (6.1.61).

When after a prefix, ending in the letter *a,* a root having an initial *ṛ* (short) follows, *vṛddhi* is the single substitute (for both). *prārcchati.*

37. When *eṅ* follows, the form of the subsequent (6.1.94).

When after a prefix ending in *a,* a root beginning with *eṅ* follows, the form of the subsequent (vowel) is the single substitute. *prejate, upoṣati.*

38. (The portion) beginning with the last of the vowels (is) *ṭi.* (1.1.64).

That (portion of the base), which begins with the vowel which is the last among the vowels (therein), has the designation *ṭi.*

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१ D परे added after धातौ

२ B_1 पर for पररुप

३ B_1 स्यात् added after एकादेश:

४ B_1 उपोखति

३९ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम्।

तच्च टे:। शकन्धु: कर्कन्धु:[१] मनीषा[२]। आकृतिगणोऽयम्। मार्तण्ड:[३]।

४० अक: सवर्णे दीर्घ:॥ ६.१.१०१॥

एकादेश:। दैत्यारि:। श्रीश:। विष्णूदय:। होतृकार:।

४१ एङ: पदान्तादति॥ ६.१.१०९॥

पदान्तादेङोऽति पूर्वरूप[४]मेकादेश:। हरेऽव। विष्णोऽव।

४२ अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्य॥ १.१.५५॥

इति प्राप्ते।

39. In *śakaṁdhu* etc. the form of the subsequent (vowel) should be stated (as the single substitute).

And that (pertains) to the *ṭi* (of the antecedent). *śakandhuḥ, karkaṇdhuḥ, manīṣā*. This is an *ākṛtigaṇa*. *mārtaṇḍaḥ*.

40. After *ak*, when a homogeneous (vowel) follows, long (vowel) (6.1.101)

(is) the single substitute (for both). *daityāriḥ, śrīśaḥ, viṣṇūdayaḥ, hotṝkāraḥ*.

41. After *eṅ* at the end of a *pada*, when *a* (short) follows (6.1.109).

When *eṅ* at the end of a *pada* is followed by *at*, the form of the precedent (vowel) is the single substitute (for both). *hare'va, viṣṇo'va*.

42. (A substitute) having more letters than one, or having an indicatory *ś*, (is) for the whole. (1.1.55).

In this position:

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१ B_1 D omitted

२ B_2 लाङ्गलीषा added befere मनीषा

३ V Omitted

४ B_1 पूर्वमेका

४३ ङिच्च ॥ १.१.५३ ॥
ङिदनेकालप्यन्त्यस्यैव[1] स्यात्।

४४ अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ ६.१.१२३ ॥
पदान्ते एङन्तस्य गोरवङ् अचि वा[2]। गवाग्रम्।[3]

४५ इन्द्रे च ॥ ६.१.१२४ ॥
गोरवङ्[4] इन्द्रे। गवेन्द्रः।

४६ दूराद्धूते च ॥ ८.२.८४ ॥
दूरात् संबोधने वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुतो वा।

43. (A substitute) having an indicatory *ṅ* also. (1.1.53).

(A substitute) having an indicatory *ṅ*, though it has more letters than one, is for the final only.

44. (In the opinion) of Sphoṭāyana, *avaṅ* (6.1.123).

At the end of a *pada*, in the place of *go*, ending in *eṅ*, *avaṅ* is substituted optionally, when followed by a vowel. *gavāgram*.

45. And when followed by *indra* (6.1.124).

In the place of *go*, *avaṅ* is substituted, when followed by *indra*. *gavendraḥ*.

46. And in calling (a person) from a distance (8.2.84).

In addressing from a distance, in the place of the *ṭi* of the sentence, *pluta* is optionally (substituted).

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१ B_2 °प्यन्तस्यै°
२ V वाचि
३ B_2 गोऽग्रम् added after गवाग्रम्
४ B_1 स्यात् added before इन्द्रे

४७ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् ॥६.१.१२५॥

एते अचि प्रकृत्या स्युः। आगच्छ कृष्ण३ अत्र गौश्चरति। आगच्छ कृष्णात्र गौश्चरति[1]।

४८ ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम् ॥१.१.११॥

ईदूदेदन्तं द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यं स्यात्। हरी एतौ। विष्णू इमौ। गङ्गे अमू।

४९ चादयोऽसत्त्वे ॥१.४.५७॥

अद्रव्यार्थाश्चादयो निपाताः स्युः।

५० प्रादयः ॥१.४.५८॥

एतेऽपि तथा।

47. The *pluta* and the *pragṛhya*, when followed by a vowel, always. (6.1.125)

These, when followed by a vowel, stand in the original form. *āgaccha kṛṣṇa3 atra gauś carati.*

48. A dual (case-termination ending in) *ī*, *ū* and *e* is *pragṛhya.* (1.1.11).

A dual termination ending in *ī*, *ū*, and *e* is (designated) *pragṛhya*. *harī etau, viṣṇū imau, gaṅge amū.*

49. *ca*, etc. when not signifying a substance. (1.4.57).

ca etc., not expressing a substance, are (designated) *nipātas.*

50. *pra* etc. (1.4.58).

So also these.

---

१ V This sentence omitted; B_1 reads गच्छत् for आगच्छ in this as well as the preceding sentence. B_2 reads कृष्ण for कृष्ण३ in the previous sentence. SK and LSK omit this sentence, and read हरि ए for आगच्छ

५१ निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १.१.१४ ॥

एकोऽच् निपात आङ्वर्जः प्रगृह्यः । इ इन्द्रः । उ उमेशः । वाक्य-स्मरणयोरङित् । आ एवं नु मन्यसे । आ एवं किल तत् । अन्यत्र ङित् । ईषत् उष्णम् ओष्णम् ।

॥ इति स्वरसन्धिः ॥

५२ स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः ॥ ८.४.४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां योगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिश्शेते । रामश्चिनोति । सच्चित् । शार्ङ्गिञ्जय ।

51. A *nipāta* (comprising) one vowel, except *āṅ* (1.1.14).

A single vowel (forming) a *nipāta*, except *ā*, is *pragṛhya*. *i indraḥ*, *u umeśaḥ*. (The particle *ā*), in the sense of the *sentence* or *remembrance*, has not the indicatory *ṅ*. *ā evaṁ nu manyase*, *ā evaṁ kila tat*. In other senses it has the indicatory *ṅ*. *īṣad uṣṇam oṣṇam*.

Thus ends (the section on) *svara-saṁdhi*.

---

52. In the place of *s* and *tu*, in contact with *ś* and *cu*, *ś* and *cu* (are substituted) (8.4.40)

In the place of the letter *s* and the letters of the *tavarga*, when they come in contact with the letter *ś* and the letters of the *cavarga*, the letter *ś* and the letters of the *cavarga* are (substituted). *hariśśete*, *rāmaścinoti*, *saccit*, *śārṅgiñjaya*.

५३ शात् ॥ ८.४.४४ ॥

शात् परस्योक्तं न । विश्नः। प्रश्नः ।

५४ ष्टुना ष्टुः ॥ ८.४.४१ ॥

स्तोः ष्टुना योगे ष्टुः । रामष्षष्ठः । रामष्टीकते । पेष्टा । तट्टीका । चक्रिण्ढौकसे ।

५५ न पदान्तात् टोरनाम् ॥ ८.४.४२ ॥

पदान्तात् टवर्गात् परस्य स्तोः [१]ष्टुर्न । षट् सन्तः। षट् ते ।

५६ अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति[२] वाच्यम् ॥

षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्यः ।

53. After *ś* (8.4.44).

In the place of (the letter *s* and the letters of the *tavarga*) coming after *ś*, the said (substitute) does not (occur). *viśnaḥ, praśnaḥ*

54. In contact with *ṣ* and *ṭu*, *ṣ* and *ṭu* (8.4.41).

In the place of *s* and *tavarga,* when they come in contact with *ṣ* and *ṭavarga, ṣ* and *ṭavarga* (are substituted). *rāmaṣṣaṣṭhaḥ, rāmaṣṭīkate, peṣṭā, taṭṭīkā, cakriṇḍhaukase.*

55. Not after *ṭu* standing at the end of a *pada,* except in the case of *nām* (8.4.42).

In the place of *s* and *tavarga* coming after the *ṭavarga* standing at the end of a *pada, ṣ* and *ṭavarga* (are) not (substituted). *ṣaṭsantaḥ, ṣaṭte.*

56. (The exception) should be stated as: except in the case of *nām, navati and nagarī.*

ṣaṇṇām, ṣaṇṇavatiḥ, ṣaṇṇagaryaḥ

---

१ V ष्टुत्वं न

२ V इति omitted

५७ **तोः षि ॥ ८.४.४३ ॥**
न [१]ष्टुत्वम् । सन् षष्ठः ।

५८ **झलां जशोऽन्ते ॥ ८.२.३९ ॥**
पदान्ते झलां जशः स्युः । वागीशः ।

५९ **यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा ॥ ८.४.४५ ॥**
यरः पदान्तस्यानुनासिके[२]ऽनुनासिको वा । एतन्मुरारिः । एतद्मुरारिः ।

६० **प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम् ॥**
तन्मात्रम् । चिन्मयम् ।

57. In the place of *tu* when followed by *ṣ*. (8.4.43).

Substitution of *ṣ* and *ṭavarga* does not take place. *san ṣaṣṭhaḥ*.

58. In the place of *jhal*, standing at the end, *jaś* (8.2.39)

In the place of the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal*, standing at the end of a *pada*, the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *jaś* are substituted. *vāgīśaḥ*

59. In the place of *yar*, when followed by a nasal, a nasal, optionally (8.4.45).

In the place of the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *yar*, standing at the end of a *pada*, when followed by a nasal, a nasal is optionally (substituted). *etanmurāriḥ, etadmurāriḥ*.

60. In the case of a suffix in common parlance, obligatory. *tanmātram, cinmayam*.

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१ D ष्टुत्वं न
२ D V परे after °नासिके

६१ तोर्लि ॥ ८.४.६० ॥
परसवर्णः । तल्लयः ।

६२ उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य ॥ ८.४.६१ ॥
उदः परयोः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः ।

६३ तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ १.१.६७ ॥
पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य परस्य बोध्यम्[1]।

६४ आदेः परस्य ॥ १.१.५४ ॥
परस्य यद्विहितं तत् तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । इति सस्य थः ।

61. In the place of *tu,* when followed by *l* (8.4.60).

(A letter) homogeneous with the latter (is substituted). *tallayaḥ*

62. After *ud,* in the place of, √*sthā* and, √*stambh,* of the former (8.4.61).

In the place of √*sthā* and √*stambh* coming after *ud,* a letter homogeneous with the former (is substituted).

63. (An operation stated) by a word in the ablative belongs to the latter (1.1.67).

An operation laid down by a word in the ablative should be understood to pertain to what follows, without being intervened by any other letter.

64. (An operation in the case) of the latter pertains to (its) initial. (1.1.54).

What is enjoined in the case of the latter, should be understood as pertaining to its initial. Accordingly, in the place of *s, tha* (is substituted).

---

१ D ज्ञेयम्

६५ **झरो झरि सवर्णे ॥ ८.४.६५ ॥**

हलः परस्य झरो वा लोपः सवर्णे झरि।

६६ **खरि च ॥ ८.४.५५ ॥**

झलां चरः स्युः । इति उदो दस्य तः । उत्थानम् । उत्तम्भनम् ।

६७ **झयो होऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८.४.६२ ॥**

झयः परस्य हस्य वा पूर्वसवर्णः[1]। वाग्घरिः। वाग्हरिः ।

६८ **शश्छोऽटि ॥ ८.४.६३ ॥**

पदान्तात् झयः परस्य शस्य अटि[2] छो वा । तच्छिवः । तच्शिवः ।

65. In the place of *jhar,* when followed by a homogeneous *jhar* (8.4.65).

In the place of *jhar* coming after *hal,* when followed by a homogeneous *jhar,* elision is optionally (substituted).

66. And when followed by *khar* (8.4.55).

In the place of the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal,* the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *car* are (substituted). Accordingly in the place of *d* of *ud, t* (is substituted). *utthānam, uttambhanam.*

67. In the place of *h* coming after *jhay,* optionally (8.4.62).

In the place of *h* coming after *jhay,* a letter homogeneous with the former is optionally (substituted). *vāggharih, vāg-harih.*

68. In the place of *ś, ch,* when followed by *aṭ* (8.4.63)

In the place of *ś,* coming after *jhay,* standing at the end of a *pada,* when followed by *aṭ,* ch is optionally (substituted). *tacchivaḥ, tacśivaḥ*

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१ V adds here नादस्य घोषस्य महाप्राणस्य हस्य तादृशेण (श एव) घकारः ।; D adds नादस्य घोषस्य महाप्राणस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्गचतुर्थः । (like LSK); see also SK.

२ V omitted

६९ छत्वममीति वाच्यम् ॥
तच्छ्लोकेन[1]।

७० मोऽनुस्वारः ॥ ८.३.२३ ॥
मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारो हलि । हरिं वन्दे ।

७१ नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि ॥ ८.३.२४ ॥
नस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः । यशांसि । आक्रंस्यते ।

७२ अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः ॥ ८.४.५८ ॥
शान्तः ।

69. It should be stated that the substitution of *ch* (takes place), when followed by (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *am*.
tacchlokena.

70. In the place of *m*, *anusvāra* (8.3.23).

In the place of a *pada* ending in *m*, *anusvāra* (is substituted) when followed by a consonant (*hal*). *hariṁ vande*.

71. And in the place of *n*, not standing at the end of a *pada*, when followed by *jhal* (8.3.24).

In the place of *n* and of *m*, not standing at the end of a *pada*, when followed by (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal*, *anusvāra* (is substituted). *yaśāṁsi*, *ākraṁsyate*.

72. In the place of *anusvāra*, when followed by (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *yay*, a letter homogeneous with the latter. (8.4.58).
śāntaḥ.

---

१ V adds तच्श्लोकेन

७३ **वा पदान्तस्य ॥ ८.४.५९ ॥**
[1]त्वङ्करोषि । [2]त्वं करोषि ।

७४ **ड: सि धुट् ॥ ८.३.२९ ॥**
डात् परस्य धुट् वा[3]।

७५ **आद्यन्तौ टकितौ ॥ १.१.४६ ॥**
टित्कितौ यस्योक्तौ तस्य क्रमादाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः । षट्त्सन्तः । षट्सन्तः ।

७६ **नश्च ॥ ८.३.३० ॥**
नान्तात् परस्य सस्य धुट् वा । सन्त्सः । सन्सः[4]।

73. Optionally, in the place (of *anusvāra*), standing at the end of a *pada* (8.4.59).

tvaṅkaroṣi, tvaṁkaroṣi

74. In (the case of) *s* coming after *ḍ*, *dhuṭ* (8.3.29)

In the case of *s*, coming after *ḍ*, (the augment) *dh* is optionally (appended).

75. (Augments) having indicatory *ṭ* and *k*, the initial and the final (1.1.46).

(Augments) with indicatory *ṭ* and *k* are (to form) the initial and the final parts respectively of that for which they are enjoined. *ṣaṭtsantaḥ, ṣaṭsantaḥ.*

76. After *n* also (8.3.30).

(In the case) of *s*, coming after what ends in *n*, (the augment) *dh* is optionally (appended). *santsaḥ, sansaḥ*

---

१ V reads पदान्तस्यानुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णो वा स्यात् । before त्वङ्करोषि.

२ B_1 D This sentence omitted.

३ B_2 adds स्यात् after वा.

४ D omitted

७७ शि तुक् ॥ ८.३.३१ ॥

नस्य पदान्तस्य शे तुक् वा । सञ्च्छम्भुः । सञ्छम्भुः । सञ्चशम्भुः सञ्शम्भुः ।

७८ छे च ॥ ६.१.७३ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य छे तुक् । अच्छा ।

७९ पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ६.१.७६ ॥

दीर्घात् पदान्तात् छे तुक् वा । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीछाया ।

॥ इति हल्सन्धिः ॥

77. When followed by *ś, tuk* (8.3.31).

(In the case) of *n,* standing at the end of a *pada,* when followed by *ś,* (the augment) *t* is optionally (appended). *sañcchambhuḥ, sañchambhuḥ, sañcśambhuḥ, sañśambhuḥ*

78. And when followed by *ch* (6.1.73).

(In the case) of a short vowel, when followed by *ch,* (the augment) *t* (is appended). *acchā.*

79. After (a long vowel at) the end of a *pada,* optionally. (6.1.76)

After a long vowel standing at the end of a *pada,* when followed by *ch,* (the augment) *t* is optionally (appended). *lakṣmīcchāyā, lakṣmīchāyā.*

Thus ends (the section on) *halsaṁdhi.*

८० ससजुषो रुः ॥ ८.२.६६ ॥
पदान्तस्य सस्य सजुषश्च रुः[१]।

८१ खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः॥ ८.३.१५ ॥
पदान्तस्य रस्य[२]।

८२ विसर्जनीयस्य सः ॥ ८.३.३४ ॥
खरि। विष्णुस्त्राता।

८३ वा शरि ॥ ८.३.३६ ॥
[३]विसर्गस्य विसर्गः। हरिश्शेते। हरिः शेते।

80. In the place of *s* and *sajuṣ, ru.* (8.2.66).

In the place of *s* standing at the end of a *pada,* and in the place of (the word) *sajuṣ, ru* (is substituted).

81. When followed by *khar* or a pause, *visarga* (8.3.15).

(is substituted) in the place of *r,* standing at the end of a *pada.*

82. In the place of a *visarga, s* (8.3.34)

(is substituted), when followed by (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *khar. viṣṇustrātā.*

83. Optionally, when followed by *śar* (8.3.36).

In the place of a *visarga, a visarga* (is substituted optionally), *hariśśete, harihśete.*

---

१ D V स्यात् is added after रुः

२ V विसर्गः added after रस्य

३ V reads this sentence as शरि परे विसर्गस्य विसर्गो वा स्यात् ।

८४ कुप्वोः ≍क ≍पौ च ॥ ८.३.३७ ॥

कवर्गे पवर्गे च[1] विसर्गस्य ≍क ≍पौ स्तः। चात् विसर्गः। क≍ करोति। कः करोति। क≍ खनति। कः खनति। क≍ पचति। कः पचति। क≍ फलति। कः फलति।

८५ कस्कादिषु च ॥ ८.३.४८ ॥

एषु[2] इण उत्तरस्य विर्गस्य षः। अन्यत्र तु सः। कस्कः। कौतस्कुतः। सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम्। इत्यादि।

८६ अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ६.१.११३।

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रो रुः स्यात् अप्लुतेऽति। शिवोऽर्च्यः।

84. When followed by *ku* and *pu*, *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* (8.3.37).

When followed by (a letter of) the *kavarga* and the *pavarga*, in the place of *visarga*, *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* are (substituted). By the force of *ca*, *visarga* (also is retained). *ka ≍ karoti, kaḥ karoti, ka ≍ khanati, kaḥ khanti, ka ≍ pacati, kaḥ pacati, ka ≍ phalati, kaḥ phalati.*

85. And in the words beginning with *kaskaḥ* (8.3.48).

In these (words), in the place (of *visarga*), coming after *iṇ* (*i* or *u*), *ṣ* (is substituted); in other cases, however, *s* (is substituted). *kaskaḥ, kautaskutaḥ, sarpiṣkuṇḍikā, dhanuṣkapālam,* etc.

86. In the place of *ru*, coming after an unprolated *at*, when followed by an unprolated (*at*) (6.1.113).

In the place of *ru*, coming after an unprolated *a*, *u* is substituted, when followed by an unprolated *a*. *śivo'rcyaḥ.*

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१ D परे added after च

२ B_2 omitted

८७ हशि च ॥ ६.१.११४॥

तथा। शिवो वन्द्यः।

८८ भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि॥ ८.३.१७॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्यादेशोऽशि। देवा इह। देवायिह। भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सान्ता निपाताः। तेषां रुत्वे यत्वे च कृते।

८९ हलि सर्वेषाम्॥ ८.३.२२॥

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य यस्य लोपः स्यात् हलि। भो देवाः। भगो नमस्ते। अघो याहि।

९० रोऽसुपि॥ ८.२.६९॥

अह्नो रेफादेशो न तु सुपि। [1]अहरहः। अहर्गणः।

87. And when followed by (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *haś* (6.1.114).

The same. *śivo vandyaḥ*

88. When preceded by *bho, bhago, agho,* and *a, y* (is substituted), when followed by *aś* (8.3.17).

In the place of *ru* preceded by these, the substitute (is) *y,* when followed by (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *aś. devā iha, devāyiha; bhos, bhagos,* and *aghos* are *nipātas* ending in *s.* After their (final *s*) is changed to *ru,* and (then to) *y,* (the following *sūtra* finds scope).

89. When followed by *hal,* of all (these) (8.3.22)

In the place of *y* (of all these words) preceded by *bho, bhago, agho,* and by *a,* when followed by a consonant (*hal*), elision is (substituted). *bho devāḥ, bhago namaste, agho yāhi.*

90. *r,* when not followed by *sup* (8.2.69).

In the place of *ahan, repha* is substituted; not, however, when followed by a case-ending. *aharahaḥ, ahargaṇaḥ,*

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१ B_2 अहोभ्याम् added before अहरहः

९१ रो रि ॥ ८.३.१४॥

लोपः।

९२ ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः ॥ ६.३.१११॥

ढरेफयोर्लोपनिमित्तयोः पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः। पुना रमते।

मनस् रथ इत्यत्र रुत्वे कृते, 'हशि च' इति उत्वे, 'रो रि' इति लोपे च प्राप्ते।

९३ विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ १.४.२॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् इति लोपे प्राप्ते।

91. In the place of *r*, when followed by *r* (8.3.14).

elision (is substituted).

92. When followed by the elision of *ḍh* or *r*, in the place of the preceding *aṇ*, a long (*aṇ* is substituted) (6.3.111).

When followed by the (*ḍh* or *r*) causing the elision of *ḍh* or *r*, in the place of the preceding *aṇ*, (its) long (form) (is substituted). *punā ramate*.

In the case of *manas ratha*, after the substitution of *ru* (for the *s* of *manas*) is effected, the change of *ru* to *u* by *haśi ca* and the elision of *ru* by *ro ri* are equally available. In this position:

93. In (the case of mutual) contradiction, the posterior should be effected (1.4.2).

In the case of a conflict (between two rules) of equal force, the posterior one (among them) is to be effected. When accordingly elision presents itself for being effected,

९४ **पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्** ॥ ८.२.१ ॥

इति 'रो रि' इत्यस्यासिद्धत्वात् उत्वमेव। मनोरथः।

९५ **एतत्तदोः सुलोपोऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि** ॥ ६.१.१३२ ॥

अककारयोरेतत्तदोर्यः सुः तस्य लोपो हलि। नञ्समासे न। एष विष्णुः। स शम्भुः। अकोः किम्। एषको रुद्रः। अनञ्समासे किम्।असः शिवः। हलि किम्। एषोऽत्र।

(इति विसर्गसन्धिः)

॥ इति सन्धयः ॥

94. In connection with what precedes, not effective. (8.2.1)

By this rule, the rule *ro ri* becomes ineffective; and hence the substitution of *u* (for the *ru*) alone (has to be effected). *manorathaḥ*

95. In the place of *etad* and *tad*, the elision of *su*, when not having (the letter) *k*, or when not in a *nañ* compound, when followed by a *hal* (6.1.132).

The *su* (nom. sg. termination) of *etad* and *tad*, not having *k* appended to them, is elided, when followed by a consonant (*hal*). Not, however, in a *nañ* compound. *eṣa viṣṇuḥ, sa śambhuḥ*. why *akoh?* (The answer may be found in statements like) *eṣako rudraḥ*. Why *anañsamāse? asaḥ śivaḥ*. Why *hali? eṣo'tra*.

Thus ends (the section on) *saṁdhi*.

(अथ सुबन्तम्)

९६ **अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्** ॥ १.२.४५॥

धातुं प्रत्ययं प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वा अर्थवत् शब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात्।

९७ **कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च** ॥ १.२.४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासश्च[1] तथा स्युः।

९८ **स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योः–सुप्** ॥ ४.१.२ ॥

सु औ जस् प्रथमा। अम् औट् शस् द्वितीया। टा भ्याम् भिस् तृतीया। ङे भ्याम् भ्यस् चतुर्थी। ङसि भ्याम् भ्यस् पञ्चमी। ङस् ओस् आम् षष्ठी। ङि ओस् सुप् सप्तमी।

96. A significant (group of letters), other than a root, or a (suffix or a form ending in a) suffix is (designated) *prātipadika* (1.2.45).

Any significant form of a word, excepting a root, a suffix, or a formation in a suffix, has the designation *prātipadika*.

97. *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *samāsa* also (1.2.46).

Formations in *kṛt* suffixes, in *taddhita* suffixes, and compounds also are so (designated).

98. *su, au, jas*, etc. (4.1.2).

su, au, jas, nominative; *am, auṭ, śas* accusative, *ṭā, bhyām, bhis*, instrumental; *ṅe, bhyām, bhyas*, dative; *ṅasi, bhyām, bhyas*, ablative; *ṅas, os, ām*, genitive; *ṅi, os, sup*, locative.

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१ B_1; D. समासाश्च

९९ **ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्**[१] ॥ ४.१.१ ॥

ङ्यन्तात् आबन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् च परे स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः।

१०० **सुपः**[२] ॥ १.४.१०३ ॥

सुपः त्रीणि त्रीणि वचनानि एकश एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि स्युः।

१०१ **द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने** ॥ १.४.२२ ॥

द्वित्वैकत्वयोरेते स्तः।

१०२ **विरामोऽवसानम्** ॥ १.४.११० ॥

वर्णानाम्। रुत्वविसर्गौ। रामः।

99. After *ṅī*, *āp* and *prātipadika* (4.1.1).

After a word ending in *ṅī*, after a word ending in *āp*, and after a *prātipadika*, the case-endings *su* etc. are (appended).

Of the *sup* (1.4.103).

Of the case-endings, each group of three expressions are respectively designated singular, dual and plural.

101. In the sense of two and one, dual and singular endings (1.4.22).

In the sense of dual and singular these (endings) are (appended).

102. Cessation is (designated) *avasāna* (pause) (1.4.110).

Of letters. Change to *ru* and to *visarga*. *rāmaḥ*.

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१ B_1 missing

२ V This sūtra and the com. on it missing

१०३ सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥ १.२.६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ।

१०४ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ ६.१.१०० ॥

अकः प्रथमाद्वितीययोरचि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ[१] एकादेशः । इति प्राप्ते ।

१०५ नात् इचि ॥ ६.१.१०२ ॥

[२] पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । वृद्धिः[३] । रामौ ।

१०६ बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ १.४.२१ ॥

103. Of (those), similar in form, (only) one is retained, when followed by the same case-ending (1.2.64).

Of the (*prātipadikas*), which are seen to have the same form, only one is retained, when followed by one (and the same) case-ending.

104. In the place of the first two (cases), a letter homogeneous with the former (6.1.100).

When *ak* is followed by *ac* of the nominative and the accusative, a letter homogeneous with the former is the single substitute (for both). In this position,

105. Not in the case of *a* or *ā*, when followed by *ic* (6.1.102)

Long vowel, homogeneous with the former (vowel). *vṛddhi*. *rāmau*.

106. In the sense of multeity, plural (1.4.21).

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१ B_2 original °सवर्ण corrected into °सवर्णो.

२ B_2 adds आत् इचि न before पूर्व°.

३ B_2 वृद्धिरेचि.

१०७ **चुटू** ॥ १.३.७ ॥
प्रत्ययाद्यौ[1] इतौ स्तः ।

१०८ **विभक्तिश्च** ॥ १.४.१०४ ॥
सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिसंज्ञौ स्तः ।

१०९ **न विभक्तौ तुस्माः** ॥ १.३.४ ॥
विभक्तिस्थाः [2] तुसमा नेतः । इति सस्य नेत्त्वम् । रामाः ।

११० **एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः** ॥ २.३.४९ ॥
सम्बोधने प्रथमायाः ।

१११ **यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्** ॥ १.४.१३ ॥
यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात् क्रियते तदादि शब्दरूपं तस्मिन्नङ्गं स्यात् ।

107. *cu* and *ṭu* (1.3.7)

standing at the beginning of a suffix are indicatory.

108. And *vibhakti* (1.4.104).

sup (case endings) and *tiṅ* (personal endings) are designated *vibhakti*.

109. Not in *vibhakti tu, s* and *m* (1.3.4).

The letters of the *tavarga, s,* and *m,* standing in a *vibhakti* are not indicatory. Accordingly *s* (in *jas*) is not indicatory. *rāmāḥ*

110. Singular (is designated) *sambuddhi* (2.3.49).

Of the nominative, in the sense of address (*sambodhana*).

111. What begins with that after which a suffix is enjoined is *aṅga* when followed by the suffix. (1.4.13).

The form of a word, beginning with that after which a suffix is enjoined, is (designated) *aṅga,* when followed by that (suffix).

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१ B_2; V चुटू added before इतौ.

२ B_2 reads तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न । for तुसमा नेतः ।

११२ **एङ्ह्रस्वात् सम्बुद्धेः** ॥ ६.१.६८ ॥

एङन्तात् ह्रस्वान्ताच्चाङ्गात् हल् लुप्यते सम्बुद्धेश्चेत् । हे राम । हे रामौ । हे रामाः ।

११३ **अमि पूर्वः** ॥ ६.१.१०५ ॥

अकोऽम्यचि [1]पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः । रामम् । रामौ ।

११४ **लशक्वतद्धिते** ॥ १.३.८ ॥

[2]तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशकवर्गा इतः स्युः ।

११५ **तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि** ॥ ६.१.१०१ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घात् परो यः शसः सः [3]तस्य नः पुंसि ।

112. After *eṅ* and after a short vowel of *sambuddhi* (6.1.68)

A consonant, coming after a base ending in *eṅ* or in a short vowel, is elided, provided it belongs to *sambuddhi*. *he rāma, he rāmau, he rāmāḥ*.

113. When followed by *am*, the former (6.1.105).

When *ak* is followed by the vowel in the case-ending *am*, the form of the former is the single substitute (for both). *rāmam, rāmau*.

114. *l, ś* and *ku* in (a suffix) other than *taddhita* (1.3.8).

The letters *l, ś* and those of the *kavarga* standing at the beginning of a suffix other than *taddhita*, are indicatory.

115. In the place of *śas* coming after that, *n* in the masculine (6.1.101).

In the place of the *s of śas*, that comes after the long (vowel) homogeneous with the former, *n* (is substituted) in the masculine.

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१ B₁; D रूप omitted.

२ B₂; °वर्जित° D °वर्जं°.

३ V सकारः for सः

११६ **अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि** ॥ ८.४.२ ॥

अट् कवर्ग पवर्ग आङ् नुम् एतैर्व्यस्तैर्यथासंभवं मिलितैश्च व्यवधानेऽपि[1] रषाभ्यां **परस्य** नस्य णः समानपदे। इति प्राप्ते।

११७ [2]**पदान्तस्य** ॥ ८.४.३७ ॥

नस्य णो न। रामान्।

११८ **टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः** ॥ ७.१.१२ ॥

अदन्तात् टादीनामिनादयः स्युः। णत्वम्। रामेण।

११९ **सुपि च** ॥ ७.३.१०२ ॥

यञादौ सुपि अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घः। रामाभ्याम्।

116. Even after intervention of *aṭ, ku, pu, āṅ* and *num*. (8.4.2)

Even in case of intervention of a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *aṭ*, of *kavarga*, of *pavarga*, *ā*, and (the augment) *n*, singly or in any possible combination, in the place of *n*, coming after *r* and *ṣ* in the same *pada*, *ṇ* is substituted. In this position.

117. Of (*n*), at the end of a *pada* (8.4.37).

In the place of *n*, *ṇ* is not (substituted). *rāmān*.

118. In the place of *ṭā*, *ṅasi* and *ṅas*, *ina*, *āt* and *sya* (7.1.12).

After (*prātipadikas*) ending in *a*, in the place of *ṭā* etc. *ina* etc. are substituted. Substitution of *ṇ*. *rāmeṇa*.

119. And when followed by a *sup* (7.3.102)

When followed by a case-ending beginning with a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *yañ*, in the place of a base ending in *a*, a long vowel (is substituted). *rāmābhyām*.

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१ B_1 व्यवधायने

२ B_2 न पदा°

१२० अतो भिस ऐस् ॥ ७.१.९ ॥
अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्य । रामैः ।

१२१ ङेर्यः ॥ ७.१.१३ ॥
अतोऽङ्गात् ।

१२२ स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ १.१.५६ ॥
इति स्थानिवत्त्वात् 'सुपि च' इति दीर्घः । रामाय रामाभ्याम् ।

१२३ बहुवचने झल्येत् ॥ ७.३.१०३ ॥
झलादौ बहुवचने सुपि अतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः । रामेभ्यः ।

120. After *at*, in the place of *bhis*, *ais* (7.1.9)

(A substitute) having more letters than one, or having an indicatory *ś* (is substituted) in the place of the whole (base). *rāmaiḥ*.

121. In the place of *ṅe*, *ya* (7.1.13).

After a base ending in *a*.

122. A substitute is like that in whose place it comes, except in the case of an injunction pertaining to the letters (1.1.56).

Accordingly being like the original (i.e. *sup*), a long (vowel, is substituted) according to (the rule) *supi ca*. (No. 119). *rāmāya*, *ramābhyām*.

123. When followed by *jhal* in the plural, *et* (7.3.103).

When followed by a plural case-ending beginning with a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal*, in the place of the base ending in *a*, the letter *e* is (substituted). *rāmebhyaḥ*.

१२४ वावसाने ॥ ८.४.५६ ॥

झलां चरः। रामात् [१]रामाद् रामाभ्याम् रामेभ्यः रामस्य ।

१२५ ओसि च ॥ ७.३.१०४ ॥

अतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः। रामयोः।

१२६ ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट् ॥ ७.१.५४ ॥

[२]आमः।

१२७ नामि ॥ ६.४.३ ॥

अजन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः। रामाणाम्। रामे। रामयोः। एत्वे कृते ।

124. Optionally, when followed by *avasāna* (8.4.56).

In the place of the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal,* the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *car* are (substituted). *rāmāt, rāmād, rāmābhyām, rāmebhyaḥ, rāmasya.*

125. And when followed by *os* (7.3.104)

In the place of a base ending in *a,* the letter *e* (is substituted). *rāmayoḥ*

126. After *hrasva, nadī* and *āp,* (the augment) *nuṭ* (7.1.54). In the case of *ām* (of gen. plr.).

127. When followed by *nām* (6.4.3).

In the place of a base ending in *ac,* a long (vowel is substituted). *rāmāṇām, rāme, rāmayoḥ.* After the substitution of *e* is effected,

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१ B_1 omitted

२ V reads ह्रस्वान्तात् नद्यन्तादाबन्ताच्चाङ्गात् परस्यामो नुट्

१२८ आदेशप्रत्यययोः ॥ ८.३.५९ ॥

इण्कुभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्ययावयवश्च यः सः तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः। ईषद्विवृतस्य सस्य तादृश एव षः। रामेषु।

एवं कृष्णादयोऽदन्ताः[1]।

१२९ सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ १.१.२७ ॥

सर्व विश्व उभ उभय डतर डतम अन्य अन्यतर इतर त्वत् त्व नेम सम सिम। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्। अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः। त्यद् तद् यद् एतद् इदम् अदस् एक द्वि युष्मद् अस्मद् भवतु किम्।

१३० जसः शी ॥ ७.१.१७ ॥

अदन्तात् सर्वनाम्नः। सर्वे।

128. Of a substitute and a suffix (8.3.59).

In the place of the *s*, which is a substitute or a part of a suffix, not standing at the end of a *pada*, (and) coming after (a letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *iṇ* and *kavarga*, a cerebral (*ṣ*) is (substituted). In the place of the *īṣadvivṛta s*, the letter *ṣ* of the same type (is substituted). *rāmeṣu*.

Similarly *kṛṣṇa* and other words ending in *a* (are to be declined).

129. *Sarva* etc. (are) pronouns (1.1.27).

sarva, viśva, ubha, etc., *pūrva, para, avara, dakṣiṇa, uttara, apara* and *adhara*, when not *saṁjñās*, and when restricted in their sense (are pronouns); *sva* (is a pronoun) when it does not signify *jñāti* or *dhana;* and *antara* (is a pronoun) when it signifies *outer* or an *under-garment*. *tyad, tad, yad,* etc.

130. In the place of *jas, śī* (7.1.17).

After a pronoun ending in *a*. *sarve*.

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१ V 'योऽप्यदन्ताः

१३१ सर्वनाम्नः स्मै ॥ ७.१.१४ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङेः स्मै। सर्वस्मै।

१३२ ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ ॥ ७.१.१५ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नः[1]। सर्वस्मात्।

१३३ आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् ॥ ७.१.५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात् परस्य सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुट्। एत्वषत्वे[2]। सर्वेषाम्। सर्वस्मिन्। शेषं रामवत्।

एवं विश्वादयोऽप्यदन्ताः। [3]उभौ। उभाभ्याम्। उभयोः।

131. After a pronoun, *smai* (7.1.14).

After a pronoun ending in *a*, in the place of *ṅe*, *smai* (is substituted). *sarvasmai*.

132. In the place of *ṅasi* and *ṅi*, *smāt* and *smin* (7.1.15).

After a pronoun ending in *a*. *sarvasmāt*.

133. In the case of *ām* after a pronoun, *suṭ* (7.1.52).

In the case of *ām* enjoined for a pronoun and coming after (a pronoun ending in) *a*, the augment *s* (is appended). Substitution of *e* and *ṣ*. *sarveṣām*, *sarvasmin*. The rest like *rāma*.

Similarly (are to be declined) *viśva* and other (pronouns) ending in *a*. *ubhau*, *ubhābhyām*, *ubhayoḥ*

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१ D omitted

२ B_2 एत्वं षत्वं

३ B_2 reads उभशब्दो नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः before उभौ etc.

१३४ पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्
॥ १.१.३४ ॥

एषां व्यवस्थामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणसूत्रात् सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा। पूर्वे पूर्वाः।[1]

१३५ स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ १.१.३५ ॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य प्राप्ता संज्ञा जसि वा[2]। स्वे स्वाः। आत्मीया आत्मान इति वा। ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः। ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा।

१३६ अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ १.१.३६ ॥

बाह्ये परिधानीये चार्थे अन्तरशब्दस्य प्राप्ता संज्ञा जसि वा।

134. *Pūrva, para, avara, dakṣiṇa, uttara, apara* and *adhara,* in a restricted sense, when not *saṁjñās*. (1.1.34).

These, in a restricted sense and when not *saṁjñās,* have the designation *sarvanāma* before all case-endings, according to the *gaṇasūtra*. It is (hereby) declared to be optional before *jas* (nom. plr. ending). *pūrve, pūrvāḥ*.

135. *sva,* when not meanng *jñāti* or *dhana* (1.1.35).

The word *sva,* meaning something else than *jñāti* or *dhana,* getting the designation (*sarvanāma*), (according to the *gaṇasūtra*), has it optionally before *jas* (nom. plr.). *sve, svāḥ* meaning *ātmīyāḥ* or *ātmānaḥ*. But of (*sva*) signifying *jñāti* or *dhana,* (the form is) *svāḥ* (only) meaning *jñātayaḥ* or *arthāḥ*.

136. *Antara,* in the sense of *outer,* or an *under-garment* (1.1.36).

The designation (*sarvanāma*) applying to the word *antara* in the senses of *outer,* or an *under-garment* (according to the *gaṇasūtra*), is optional before *jas*.

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१ B_2 after this is added स्वाभिधेयापेक्षो विधिनियमो व्यवस्था। व्यवस्थायां किम्। दक्षिणगायकाः। कुशला इत्यर्थः। V adds स्वाभिधेयापेक्षो—दक्षिणा गायकाः। कुशला इत्यर्थः। असंज्ञायां किम्। उत्तराः कुरवः।

२ V वा स्यात्।

अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः। बाह्या इत्यर्थः। अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शाटकाः। परिधानीया इत्यर्थः।

१३७ पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा ॥ ७.१.१६ ॥

[1]एभ्यो ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ वा स्तः। पूर्वस्मात् पूर्वात्। पूर्वस्मिन् पूर्वे। एवं परादीनाम्। शेषं सर्ववत्।

१३८ प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्धकतिपयनेमाश्च ॥ १.१.३३ ॥

एते जसि उक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः। प्रथमे प्रथमाः।[2] शेषं रामवत्। नेमे नेमाः। शेषं सर्ववत्।

१३९ तीयस्य ङित्सु[3] वा।

द्वितीयस्मै द्वितीयाय इत्यादि। एवं तृतीयः।

antare, antarā vā gṛhāḥ (where *antare*) means *bāhyāḥ*. *antare antarā vā śāṭakāḥ* (where *antare*) means *paridhānīyāḥ*.

137. After the nine words, *pūrva* etc., optionally (7.1.16).

After these, in the place of *ṅasi* and *ṅi*, *smāt* and *smin* are optionally substituted. *pūrvasmāt, pūrvāt, pūrvasmin, pūrve*. Similarly of *para* and others. The rest like *sarva*.

138. *Prathama, carama, taya, alpa, ardha, katipaya,* and *nema* (1.1.33).

These, when followed by *jas*, have the said designation optionally. *prathame, prathamāh*. The rest like *rāma*. *neme, nemāḥ*. The rest like *sarva*.

139. A (formation in) *tīya*, when followed by case endings with indicatory *ṅ*, optionally has (the *saṁjñā, sarvanāma*).

dvitīyasmai, dvitīyāya, etc. Similarly *tṛtīya*.

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१ B_2 omitted

२ After this B_2 adds तयप्प्रत्यये द्वितये द्वितयाः।

३ B_2 ङित्सुपि

१४० जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् ।। ७.२.१०१ ।।

अजादौ विभक्तौ । पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च। निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा[१] भवन्ति। एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्इति जरशब्दस्य जरस्। निर्जरसौ[२] निर्जरसः इत्यादि । पक्षे हलादौ च रामवत् ।

विश्वपाः ।

१४१ दीर्घाज्जसि च ।। ६.१.१०३ ।।

इचि च पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न[३] । विश्वपौ विश्वपाः। हे विश्वपाः।[४] विश्वपाम् विश्वपौ ।

140. In the place of *jarā, jaras,* optionally (7.2.101).

When followed by a case-ending beginning with a vowel.

In the topic (*adhikāra*) of *pada* or *aṅga,* (a rule applies) to that (which is stated in the rule) and also to what ends in that. The substitutes take the place of that which is actually stated. What is partly altered does not thereby become some thing different. Accordingly in the place of the word *jara* (in *nirjara*), *jaras* (is substituted). *nirjarasau, nirjarasaḥ,* etc Alternatively, and when followed by a consonantal case-ending, (it is declined) like *rāma.*

viśvapāḥ.

141. After a long vowel, when followed by *jas* also (6.1.103).

And when followed by *ic,* the long vowel homogeneous with the former is not (substituted). *viśvapau, viśvapāḥ, he viśvapāḥ; viśvapām, viśvapau.*

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१ B_2 °शो भवति

२ V omitted

३ B_2 reads वृद्धिः after न

४ V हे विश्वपाः omitted

१४२ **सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ १.१.४३ ॥**

स्वादिपञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि[1] स्युरक्लीबस्य ।

१४३ **स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १.४.१७ ॥**

कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिषु असर्वनामस्थानेषु पूर्वं पदं[2] स्यात् ।

१४४ **यचि भम् ॥ १.४.१८ ॥**

यादिषु अजादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु असर्वनामस्थानेषु पूर्वं भम् ।

१४५ **आ कडारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १.४.१ ॥**

इत ऊर्ध्वं कडाराः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या परा अनवकाशा च ।

142. *suṭ,* not of the neuter gender (1.1.43).

The five case-endings beginning with *su,* not of the neuter gender, have the designation *sarvanāmasthāna.*

143. When followed by *pratyayas* beginning with *su,* other than the *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.4.17).

Before suffixes, beginning with *su* and ending with the *pratyaya kap,* other than (those designated) *sarvanāmasthāna,* the base (to which they are appended) is (designated) *pada.*

144. When followed by *y* and *ac, bha* (1.4.18).

When followed by (suffixes), beginning with *y* or beginning with a vowel, from case-endngs (*svādi*) upto the *pratyaya kap* other than (those designated) the *sarvanāmasthāna,* what precedes is (designated) *bha.*

145. Upto *kaḍāra,* one designation (1.4.1).

From here upto the *sūtra, kaḍārāh karmadhāraye* (in the case) of one, only one designation should be recognized, (namely) that which is posterior and without any scope (otherwise).

१ D सर्वनामसंज्ञानि

२ V पदसंज्ञं

१४६ आतो धातोः ॥ ६.४.१४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य भस्याङ्गस्य लोपः[१]। विश्वपः। [२]विश्वपा विश्वपाभ्याम् इत्यादि। एवं शङ्खध्मादयः। धातोः किम्। हाहान्।

हरिः। हरी।

१४७ जसि च ॥ ७.३.१०९ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य[३] गुणः। हरयः।

१४८ ह्रस्वस्य गुणः ॥ ७.३.१०८ ॥

सम्बुद्धौ। हे हरे। हरिम् हरी[४] हरीन्।

146. In the place of a root ending in *ā* (6.4.140).

In the place of the *bha aṅga*, ending in a root that ends in *ā*, elision is substituted. *viśvapaḥ*, *viśvapā*, *viśvapābhyām*, etc. Similarly *śaṅkhadhmā* and other words. Why *dhātoḥ?* Tre answer may be found in the forms like *hāhān*.

hariḥ, *harī*.

147. And when followed by *jas* (7.3.109).

In the place of a base ending in a short (vowel), *guṇa* (is substituted). *harayaḥ*.

148. In the place of a short (vowel), *guṇa* (7.3.108).

When followed by *sambuddhi*. *he hare, harim, harī, harīn.*

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१ After लोपः B_2 reads अलोऽन्त्यस्य।

२ V omitted

३ B_1 इगन्ताङ्गस्य D ह्रस्वस्याङ्गस्य

४ B_2 हरी omitted

१४९ शेषो घ्यसखि ॥ १.४.७ ॥
[1]ह्रस्वौ याविदुतौ तदन्तं सखिवर्जं घिसंज्ञम्[2] ।

१५० आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ७.३.१२० ॥
घेः परस्य । आङ इति टासंज्ञा । हरिणा । हरिभ्याम् । हरिभिः ।

१५१ घेर्ङिति ॥ ७.३.१११ ॥
सुपि गुणः । हरये । हरिभ्यः[3] । गुणे कृते ।

१५२ ङसिङसोश्च ॥ ६.१.१०८ ॥
एङो ङसिङसोरति [4]पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः । हरेः । हर्योः । हरीणाम् ।

149. The remainder is *ghi*, except *sakhi* (1.4.7).

A word ending in short *i* or short *u*, except the word *sakhi*, has the designation *ghi*.

150. In the place of *āṅ*, *nā*, except in feminine (7.3.120).

In the place of (*āṅ*) coming after *ghi*. *āṅ* is a designation of *ṭā*. *hariṇā*, *haribhyām*, *haribhiḥ*.

151. In the place of *ghi*, when followed by a suffix having an indicatory *ṅ* (7.3.111).

When followed by a (*ṅit*) *sup* (case-ending), *guṇa* (is substituted). *haraye*, *haribhyaḥ*. After *guṇa* is substituted,

152. When followed by *ṅasi* and *ṅas* also (6.1.108).

When *eṅ* is followed by the short *a* in *ṅasi* and *ṅas*, the form of the former is the single substitute, (for both). *hareḥ*, *haryoḥ*, *harīṇām*.

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१ D reads शेष इति स्पष्टार्थः । before ह्रस्वौ

२ B_2 adds स्यात् ।

३ V हरिभ्याम्

४ B_1, D. पूर्वप्

१५३ अच्च घेः ॥ ७.३.११९ ॥
इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य ङेरौत् घेरत् । हरौ हरिषु ।
एवं कव्यादयः ।

१५४ अनङ् सौ ॥ ७.१.९३ ॥
सख्युरनङ् असम्बुद्धौ सौ ।

१५५ अलोऽन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा ॥ १.१ ६५ ॥

१५६ सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ ॥ ६.४.८ ॥
नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घोऽसम्बुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने ।

१५७ अपृक्त एकाल् प्रत्ययः ॥ १.२.४१ ॥

153. And *at* in the place of *ghi* (7.3.119).

In the place of *ṅi* (loc. sg. ending) coming after *i* (short) or *u* (short), *aut* (is substituted); and in the place of *ghi*, short *a* (is substituted). *harau, hariṣu.*

Similarly *kavi* etc. (are declined).

154. *anaṅ*, when followed by *su* (7.1.93).

In the place of *sakhi, anaṅ* (is substituted), when followed by *su*, (which is) not *sambuddhi.*

155. What stands (immediately) before the final *al* (is designated) *upadhā* (1.1.65).

156. When followed by the *sarvanāmasthāna*, other than *sambuddhi* (6.4.8).

In the place of the *upadhā* of (a base) ending in *n*, a long (vowel is substituted), when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna* (case-ending) other than *sambuddhi.*

157. *apṛkta* (is) a suffix having (only) one letter (1.2.41).

१५८ हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात् सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६.१.६७॥

हलन्तात् परं दीर्घौ यौ ङ्यापौ तदन्ताच्च परं सु ति सि इत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते।

१५९ प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ १.१.६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि तदाश्रितं कार्यं स्यात्।

१६० न लोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥ ८.२.७।

प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं[1] यत् पदं तदन्तस्य नस्य लोपः। सखा।

१६१ सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ ॥ ७ १.९२ ॥

सख्युः[2] परं सम्बुद्धिवर्जं सर्वनामस्थानं णिद्वत्[3]।

158. After *hal*, *ṅī*, and *āp*, *su*, *ti* and *si* (when reduced to) a single consonant (6.1.67).

su, *ti* and *si* (reduced to the status of) a single consonant, coming after a word ending in *hal*, or (a word) ending in long *ṅī* and *āp*, are elided.

159. After the elision of a suffix, the effect of the suffix (1.1.62).

Even after a suffix is elided, the operation depending upon it should be effected.

160. The elision of *n*, standing at the end of a *prātipadika* (8.2.7).

In the place of *n*, standing at the end of a *pada*, which has the designation *prātipadika*, elision (is substituted). *sakhā*.

161. After *sakhi*, other than *sambuddhi* (7.1.92).

The *sarvanāmasthāna*, except *sambuddhi*, coming after *sakhi* is like that which has indicatory *ṇ*.

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१ V °पदिकं यत् पदं

२ D, V add अङ्गात् after सख्युः

३ V णिद्वत् स्यात

१६२ **अचो ञ्णिति ॥ ७.२.११५ ॥**

वृद्धिः। सखायौ सखायः[१] । हे सखे। सखायम् सखायौ सखीन् सख्या सख्ये।

१६३ **ख्यत्यात् परस्य ॥ ६.१.११० ॥**

खितिशब्दाभ्यां खीतीशब्दाभ्यां कृतयणादेशाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङसोरत उः। सख्युः।

१६४ **औत् ॥ ७.३.११८ ॥**

इतो ङेरौत्। सख्यौ। शेषं हरिवत्।

१६५ **पतिः समास एव ॥ १.४.८ ॥**

घिसंज्ञः। पत्या पत्ये पत्युः पत्यौ। शेषं हरिवत्। समासे तु[२] भूपतये[३]।

162. In the place of *ac*, when followed by what has indicatory *ñ* or *ṇ* (7.2.115).

vṛddhi (is substituted). *sakhāyau, sakhāyaḥ. he sakhe; sakhāyam, sakhāyau, sakhīn; sakhyā, sakhye.*

163. In the place of (*ṅasi* and *ṅas*) coming after *khy* and *ty* (6.1.110).

In the place of the *at* (*a*) of *ṅasi* and *ṅas*, coming after the letters *khi, ti,* and *khī, tī,* (turned into *khy* and *ty*) with the operation of *yaṇādeśa, u* (is substituted). *sakhyuḥ.*

164. *aut* (7.3.118).

In the place of *ṅi,* coming after (bases ending in) *i, au* (is substituted). *sakhyau.* The rest like *hari.*

165. *pati* in a compound only (1.4.8),

has the designation *ghi. patyā, patye, patyuḥ, patyau.* The rest like *hari.* In a compound, however, *bhūpataye.*

---

१ B_2 omitte

२ V omitted

३ B_2 hereafter adds कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः।

१६६ बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ १.१.२३ ॥

१६७ डति च ॥ १.१.२५ ॥

डत्यन्ता संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात्।

१६८ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ ७.१.२२ ॥

जस्शसोः।

१६९ प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः ॥ १.१.६१ ॥

लुक्श्लुलुप्शब्दैः कृतं प्रत्ययादर्शनं क्रमात्[1] तत्तत्संज्ञं स्यात्। जसि च इति गुणे प्राप्ते।

१७० न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ १.१.६३ ॥

लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते तन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात्। कति[2]। कतिभिः। कतिभ्यः। कतीनाम। कतिषु[3]।

166. *Bahu, gaṇa, vatu,* and *ḍati* (are designated) *saṁkhyā*. (1.1.23).

167. And *ḍati* (1.1.25).

A *saṁkhyā*, ending in *ḍati*, is designated *ṣaṭ*.

168. After the *ṣaṭ*-s, elision (7.1.22).

In the place of *jas*, and *śas*.

169. In the place of a suffix, *luk, ślu* and *lup* (1.1.61).

Disappearance of a suffix, caused by the words *luk, ślu* and *lup*, is respectively designated by that name. When by (the rule) *jasi ca*, (No. 147) *guṇa* becomes imminent,

170. Not in the place of the *aṅga* (affected) by a term containing *lu* (1.1.63).

After elision has occurred on account of a term containing the letter *lu*, the operation in the *aṅga* to be effected by it, does not take place. *kati, katibhiḥ, katibhyaḥ katīnām, katiṣu.*

---

१ B_2 तत्संज्ञं

२ B_2 V कति कति

३ **After** कतिषु B_2 adds अस्मद्युष्मत्षट्संज्ञकाः त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सरूपाः। त्रिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः।

त्रयः । त्रीन् । त्रिभिः । त्रिभ्यः ।

१७१ त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ७.१.५३ ॥
आमि । त्रयाणाम् । त्रिषु ।

१७२ त्यदादीनामः ॥ ७.२.१०२ ॥

[1]विभक्तौ । द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टिः । द्वौ । द्वाभ्याम् । द्वयोः ॥

पपीः पप्यौ पप्यः । हे पपीः । पपीन् । पप्या पपीभ्याम् पपीभिः । पप्ये पपीभ्यः । पप्यः । पप्योः पप्याम् । पपी पपीषु । एवं वातप्रम्यादयः ॥

प्रधीः ।

१७३ अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ ॥ ६.४.७७ ॥

trayaḥ, trīn, tribhiḥ, tribhyaḥ

171. In the place of *tri, traya* (7.1.53).

When followed by *ām. trayāṇām, triṣu.*

172. In the place of *tyad,* etc., *a* (7.2.102).

When followed by *vibhakti.* The *iṣṭi* extends upto (the word) *dvi* only (in the *tyadādi gaṇa*). *dvau, dvābhyām, dvayoḥ.*

Papīḥ, papyau, papyaḥ; he papīḥ, papīn; papyā, papībhyām, papībhiḥ; papye, papībhyaḥ; papyaḥ, papyoḥ, papyām; papī; papīṣu. Similarly, *vātapramī* etc.

Pradhīḥ.

173. When followed by *ac,* in the place of *i* and *u* of *śnu,* a root, and *bhrū, iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* (6.4.77).

---

१ B_2 अत्वं विभक्तौ ।

श्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोः भ्रू इत्यस्य चाङ्गस्य इयङुवङौ स्तौऽजादौ प्रत्यये। इति प्राप्ते।

१७४ **एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य** ॥ ६.४.८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य अनेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् अजादौ प्रत्यये। प्रध्यौ प्रध्यः प्रध्यम् प्रध्यि[1]। शेषं पपीवत्॥ एवं ग्रामणीः।[2]

१७५ **ङेराम् नद्याम्नीभ्यः** ॥ ७.३.११६ ॥

ग्रामण्याम्।

In the place of the *aṅga* ending in the suffix *śnu,* of a root ending in the letter *i* or *u,* and of (the word) *bhrū, iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* are (substituted), when followed by a suffix beginning with *ac*. In this position,

174. In the place of (an *aṅga*) having more vowels than one, and (ending in) *i,* which is not preceded by a conjunct consonant (6.4.82).

In the place of an *aṅga* of more vowels than one, ending in a root, ending in the letter *i* which is not preceded by a conjunct (which is a) part of the root, *yaṇ* (is substituted), when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel. *pradhyau, pradhyaḥ, pradhyam, pradhyi.* The rest like *papī*. Similarly *grāmaṇīḥ.*

175. In the place of *ṅi, ām,* after *nadī, āp* and *nī* (7.3.116).

grāmaṇyām.

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१ B_2 प्रध्यः प्रध्यम् repeated, प्रध्यि omitted; B_1 adds प्रध्यः before प्रध्यि.

२ D adds ङौ तु after ग्रामणीः।

१७६ गतिश्च[1] ॥ १.४.६० ॥
प्रादयः क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्युः ।

१७७ गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य[2] यण् नेष्यते ।
शुद्धधियौ ।

१७८ न भूसुधियोः ॥ ६.४.८५ ॥
यण् अचि सुपि । सुधियौ सुधियः ॥[3]
सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुख्युः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सुत्युः । शेषं प्रधीवत् ॥
शम्भुर्हरिवत् । एवं भान्वादयः ।

176. And *gati* (1.4.60)

pra etc., when in contact with *kriyā*, are designated *gati*.

177. *Yaṇ* is not desired (to be substituted) in the place of a base, the former member of which is (some thing) other than *gati* and *kāraka*.

śuddhadhiyau.

178. Not in the place of *bhū* and *sudhī* (6.4.85),

yaṇ, when followed by a *sup* (case-ending) beginning with a vowel. *sudhiyau, sudhiyaḥ*.

Sukhī is one who desires *sukha*. *sukhyuḥ*. *Sutī* is one who desires *suta*. *sutyuḥ*. The rest like *pradhī*.

Śambhu like *hari*. Similarly *bhānu* etc.

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१ B_1 from गतिश्च up to °संज्ञाः स्युः । omitted. B_2 reads this after नेष्यते before शुद्धाधियौ

२ V पूर्वस्य

३ V सुखमिच्छ ... सुख्युः omitted

१७९ तृज्वत् क्रोष्टुः ॥ ७.१.९५ ॥
असम्बुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने। क्रोष्टु इत्यस्य क्रोष्टृ प्रयोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः।

१८० ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः ॥ ७.३.११० ॥
गुणः। इति प्राप्ते।

१८१ ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च ॥ ७.१.९४ ॥
ऋदन्तानामुशनसादीनां चानङ् स्यादसम्बुद्धौ सौ।

१८२ अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तॄणाम् ॥ ६.४.११ ॥
[१]अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घोऽसम्बुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने। क्रोष्टा क्रोष्टारौ क्रोष्टारः। क्रोष्टारम्। क्रोष्टून्।

179. *kroṣṭu,* like (a word ending in) *tṛc* (7.1.95).

When followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna,* except *sambuddhi.* This means that in the place of *kroṣṭu, kroṣṭṛ* should be substituted.

180. In the place of *ṛt*, when followed by *ṅi* and *sarvanāmasthāna* (7.3.110),

guṇa (is substituted). In this position,

181. And in the place of *ṛt, uśanas, purudaṁsas* and *anehas* (7.1.94).

In the place of (words) ending *ṛ* short, and of *uśanas* etc., *anaṅ* is (substituted), when followed by *su,* which is not *sambuddhi.*

182. In the place of *ap, tṛn, tṛc, svasṛ, naptṛ, neṣṭṛ tvaṣṭṛ, kṣattṛ, hotṛ, potṛ* and *praśāstṛ* (6.4.11).

In the place of the *upadhā* of *ap* etc. long (vowel) is (substituted), when followed *sarvanāmasthāna,* other than *sambuddhi. kroṣṭā, kroṣṭārau, kroṣṭāraḥ, kroṣṭāram, kroṣṭūn.*

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१ V. reads क्रोष्टृधातु before अबादीना°

१८३ **विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि** ॥ ७.१.९७ ॥
अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा तृज्वत् । क्रोष्ट्रा[१] क्रोष्ट्रे ।

१८४ **ऋत उत्** ॥ ६.१.१०९ ॥
ऋतो ङसिङसोरति उत् एकादेशः । रपरः ।

१८५ **रात् सस्य** ॥ ८.२.२४ ॥
रेफात्[२] संयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रस्य विसर्गः क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्ट्रोः ।

१८६ **नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो[३] नुट् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन** ॥
क्रोष्टूनाम् । क्रोष्टरि । पक्षे हलादौ च शम्भुवत् ॥

183. Optionally, when followed by case-endings from instrumental onward, beginning with a vowel (7.1.97).

When followed by vowel terminations from the instrumental onward, *kroṣṭu* is (declined) optionally like a word ending in *tṛc*. *kroṣṭrā, kroṣṭre.*

184. After *ṛt, ut* (6.1.109).

When *at* of *ṅasi* and *ṅas*, comes after *ṛ* (short), *u* (short) is the single substitute, followed by *r*.

185. After *r*, in the place of *s* (8.2.24).

In the place of *s* only, and none else, standing at the end of a conjunct consonant, and coming after *r*, elision (is substituted). In the place of *r*, *visarga* (is substituted). *kroṣṭuḥ, kroṣṭroḥ*

186. In contradiction to a former (rule), *nuṭ* in preference to *num*, the rule *aci ra* etc., and the *tṛjvadbhāva*.

kroṣṭūnām, kroṣṭari. In the alternative and when followed by consonantal (case-ending), (it is declined) like *śambhu*.

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१ B_2 reads क्रोष्टुना क्रोष्ट्रा and omits क्रोष्ट्रे

२ V रेफादेः

३ B_2 तृज्वद्भ्यो

हूहूः हूह्वौ इत्यादि ॥
खलपूः ।

१८७ ओ सुपि ॥ ६.४.८३ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णः तदन्तो यो धातुः तदन्तस्य अनेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यात् अचि सुपि । खलप्वौ खलप्वः[1] ॥ एवं सुल्वादयः ॥

स्वभूः स्वभुवौ ॥
वर्षाभूः ।

१८८ वर्षाभ्वश्च ॥ ६.४.८४ ॥

अस्य यण् अचि सुपि । वर्षाभ्वौ ॥
धाता । हे धातः । धातारौ ।

hūhūḥ, hūhvau, etc.

khalapūḥ

187. In the place of *u,* when followed by sup (6.4.83).

In the place of an *aṅga,* of more vowels than one, ending in a root, ending in the letter *u,* which is not preceded by a conjunct (which is a) part of a root, *yaṇ* (is substituted) when followed by a vowel case-ending. *khalapvau, khalapvaḥ*. Similarly *sulū* etc.

svabhūḥ, svabhuvau.

varṣābhūḥ.

188. In the place of *varṣābhū* also (6.4.84).

In the place of this (word), *yaṇ* (is substituted), when followed by a vowel case-ending. *varṣābhvau.*

dhātā, he dhātaḥ, dhātārau.

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१ D omitted

१८९ ऋवर्णान्नस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् ।।

धातॄणाम् । एवं नप्त्रादयः । नप्त्रादिग्रहणं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेनेह न । पिता पितरौ पितरः । शेषं धातृवत् । एवं जामात्रादयः ।।

ना नरौ ।[1]

१९० नृ च ।। ६.४.६ ।।

[2]अस्य नामि वा दीर्घः । नृणाम् नॄणाम् ।

१९१ गोतो णित् ।। ७.१.९० ।।

ओकारात् विहितं सर्वनामस्थानं णिद्वत् । गौः गावौ गावः ।

189. In the place of *n* coming after *ṛ* substitution of *ṇ* should be declared.

dhātṝṇām. Similarly *naptṛ* etc. The mention of *naptṛ* etc. is meant to restrict (No. 181 to these words only), in case the view of derivability (of these words acc. *Uṇ* 252) is adopted. Hence (it does) not (apply) here (i.e. *to pitṛ*). *pitā, pitarau, pitaraḥ,* The rest like *dhātṛ*. Similarly *jāmātṛ* etc. (are declined).

nā, narau.

190. And *nṛ* (6.4.6).

In the place of this (word), when followed by *nām,* long (vowel is) optionally (substituted). *nṛṇām, nṝṇām.*

191. After *o* as of *go, ṇit* (7.1.90).

sarvanāmasthāna, placed after the letter *o,* is as if having an indicatory *ṇ*. *gauḥ, gāvau, gāvaḥ.*

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१ V adds नरः ।

२ D. omitted

१९२ औतोऽम्शसोः ॥ ६.१.९२ ॥

औतोऽम्शसोः[१] अचि आकार एकादेशः । गाम्[२] गाः । गवा[३] गवे गोः।

१९३ रायो हलि ॥ ७.२.८५ ॥

[४]विभक्तौ आकारः। राः रायौ[५] राभ्याम्[६] ॥
ग्लौः ग्लावौ[७] ग्लौभ्याम् इत्यादि।

॥ इति अजन्ताः पुंल्लिङ्गाः ॥

192. *ā* in the case of *o* followed by *am* and *śas* (6.1.92).

In the place of *o* when followed by *am* and *śas* or by a vowel, the letter *ā* is the single substitute. *gām, gāḥ, gavā, gave, goḥ*.

193. In the place of *rai*, when followed by *hal* (7.2.85).

When followed by a case-ending, the letter *ā* (is the single substitute). *rāḥ, rāyau, rābhyām.*

glauḥ, glāvau glaubhyām etc.

Thus ends (the section on) *ajanta puṁlliṅga* declension.

१ D औतोऽम्शसोः omitted
२ V adds गावौ after गाम्
३ V adds गोभ्याम् after गवे
४ V reads रैशब्दस्यात्वं हलादौ विभक्तौ
५ B_2 adds रायः after रायौ
६ B_2 adds राभ्यः रासु after राभ्याम्
७ V adds ग्लावः after ग्लावौ

१९४ अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४.१.४ ॥
स्त्रियाम् । अजा ।

१९५ औङ आपः ॥ ७.१.१८ ॥
[1]शी । औङ इति ओकारविभक्तेः संज्ञा । अजे अजाः ।

१९६ [2]सम्बुद्धौ च ॥ ७.१.१०६ ॥
आप एकारः[3] । हे अजे हे अजाः अजाम् अजाः ।

१९७ आङि चापः ॥ ७.३.१०५ ॥
अङि ओसि च आप एकारः । अजया अजाभ्याम् अजाभिः ।

194. After *aja,* etc. and after words (ending in) *at,* (the suffix) *ṭāp* (4.1.4).

In the sense of feminine. *ajā.*

195. In the place of *auṅ,* after (a word ending in) *āp,* (7.1.18).

śī (is substituted). *auṅ* is the name of the case-ending *au. aje, ajāḥ.*

196. And when followed by *sambuddhi* (7.3.106).

In the place of *āp,* the letter *e* is substituted. *he aje, he ajāḥ, ajām, ajāḥ.*

197. When followed by *āṅ* also, in the place of *āp* (7.3.105).

When followed by *aṅ* and *os,* in the place of *āp,* the letter *e* (is substituted). *ajayā, ajābhyām, ajābhiḥ.*

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१ B_2 आबन्तादङ्गात् औङ शी । D has आवन्तादङ्गात् परस्य added after शी by the same hand.

२ V adds स्यात् after एकारः

३ D. this *sūtra* and comm. on it omitted

१९८ याडापः ॥ ७.३.११३ ॥

ङितः। अजायै अजाभ्यः अजायाः अजयोः[1] अजानाम् अजायाम् अजासु। एवं दुर्गादयः।

१९९ सर्वनाम्नः स्याड् ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ७.३.११४ ॥

आवन्तात् सर्वनाम्नो ङितः स्याड् आपश्च ह्रस्वः। सर्वस्यै सर्वस्याः [2]सर्वासाम् सर्वस्याम्। शेषमजावत्।

एवं विश्वादय आबन्ताः।

२०० अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ ७.३.१०७ ॥

198. *yāṭ*, coming after *āp* (7.3.113).

(is appended) to a case-ending having indicatory *ṅ*. *ajāyai*, *ajābhyaḥ*, *ajāyāḥ*, *ajayoḥ*, *ajānām*, *ajāyām*, *ajāsu*. Similarly *durgā*, etc.

199. In the case of a pronoun, *syāṭ*, and a short (vowel) (7.3.114).

In the case of a case-ending having indicatory *ṅ*, coming after a pronoun ending in *ā*, (the augment) *syāṭ* (is appended); and in the place of *āp*, a short vowel (is substituted). *sarvasyai*, *sarvasyāḥ*, *sarvāsām*, *sarvasyām*. The rest like *ajā*.

Similarly *viśvā* and other (pronouns) ending in *āp*.

200. In the place of synonyms of *ambā* and (in the place of) *nadī*, short (7.3.107)

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१ V omitted

२ V adds सर्वयोः after सर्वासाम्

सम्बुद्धौ। हे अम्ब हे अक्क हे अल्ल।
जरा जरसौ जरसः इत्यादि। पक्षे[1] अजावत्॥
गोपा विश्वपावत्।
मतीः[2]। मत्या।

२०१ ङिति ह्रस्वश्च॥ १.४.६॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दभिन्नौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीदूतौ ह्रस्वौ च इउवर्णौ स्त्रियां वा नदीसंज्ञौ स्तो ङिति।

२०२ आण्नद्याः॥ ७.३.११२॥

नद्यन्तात् परेषां ङितामाट्।

When followed by *sambuddhi. he amba, he akka, he alla.*
jarā, jarasau, jarasaḥ, etc. Alternatively like *ajā.*
gopā (is to be declined) like *viśvapā.*
matiḥ, matyā.

201. When followed by (a case-ending) having indicatory *ṅ* and short (1.4.6).

Fem. words (ending in) *ī* or *ū*, admitting the substitutes *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ*, except the word *strī*, and (words ending in short *i* or *u*, in the feminine, are optionally designated *nadī* when followed by (a case-ending) having an indicatory *ṅ*.

202. *āṭ*, coming after *nadī* (7.3.112).

In the case of (case-endings) having indicatory *ṅ*, coming after words ending in *nadī*, *āṭ* (is appended).

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१ V. omitted

२ B_2 मतिः

२०३ आटश्च ॥ ६.१.८९ ॥

आटोऽचि वृद्धिरेकादेशः। मत्यै मतये मत्याः मतेः।

२०४ इदुद्भ्याम् ॥ ७.३.११७ ॥

नदीसंज्ञकाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां[१] ङेः आम्। मत्याम् मतौ। शेषं हरिवत्। एवं बुद्ध्यादयः।

२०५ त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ ॥ ७.२.९९ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतौ स्तो विभक्तौ।

२०६ अचि र ऋतः ॥ ७.२.१०० ॥

तिसृचतस्रोः ऋतो रादेशोऽचि। तिस्रः तिसृभिः तिसृभ्यः।

203 And in the case of *āṭ* (6.1.89)

In the case of *āṭ*, when followed by *ac*, *vṛddhi* is the single substitute. *matyai, mataye, matyāḥ, mateḥ.*

204. After short *i* and short *u* (7.3.117).

In the place of the case-ending *ṅi*, coming after (words ending in) short *i* and short *u*, having the designation *nadī*, *ām* (is substituted). *matyām, matau*. The rest like *hari*. Similarly *buddhi* etc.

205. In the place of *tri* and *catur*, in the feminine, *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* (7.2.99).

In the place of these two, having the feminine gender, these (two) are (substituted), when followed by *vibhakti*.

206. When followed by *ac*, *r* in the place of *ṛt*. (7.2.100).

In the place of the short *ṛ* of *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, *r* is substituted, when followed by *ac*. *tisraḥ, tisṛbhiḥ, tisṛbhyaḥ.*

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१ V. इदुद्भ्याम् omitted

२०७ न तिसृचतसृ ॥ ६.४.४ ॥

एतयोर्नामि न दीर्घः । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु ।

द्वे द्वाभ्याम् द्वयोः ।

२०८ षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४.१.४१ ॥

स्त्रियां ङीष् :

२०९ यस्येति च ॥ ६.४.१४८ ॥

भस्य इवर्णावर्णयोर्लोपः ईकारे तद्धिते च । गौरी गौर्यौ गौर्यः ।

२१० यूस्त्र्याख्यौ नदी ॥ १.४.३ ॥

ईदूदन्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । हे गौरि । गौरीम् [१]गौरीः गौर्या गौरीभ्याम् गौरीभिः गौर्यै गौर्याः गौरीणाम् गौर्याम् गौरीषु । एवं नद्यादयः ॥

स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ।

207. Not *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* (6.4.4).

In the place of these two when followed by *nām*, long (vowel) is not substituted. *tisṛṇām, tisṛṣu.*

dve, dvābhyām, dvayoḥ

208. After *ṣit* and after *gaura,* etc. (4.1.41).

In the sense of the feminine, (the suffix) *ṅīṣ* (is appended).

209. In the place of *i* and *a* (short or long) when followed by *īt* also. (6.4.148).

In the place of the letter *i* (or *ī*) and the letter *a* (or *ā*) of the *bha,* elision (is substituted), when followed by the letter *ī* and by a *taddhita* (affix), *gaurī, gauryau, gauryaḥ.*

210. (The vowels) *ī* and *ū,* having the feminine gender, *nadī* (1.4.3).

Words ending in long *ī* and long *ū,* always feminine in gender, are designated *nadī. he gauri, gaurīm, gaurīḥ gauryā, gaurībhyām, gaurībhiḥ, gauryai, gauryāḥ, gaurīṇām, gauryām, gaurīṣu.* Similarly *nadī* etc.

strī, he stri.

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१ V. गौर्यौ for गौरीः

२११ स्त्रियाः ॥ ६.४.७९ ॥

इयङ अजादौ प्रत्यये। स्त्रियः।[१]

२१२ वाम्शसोः ॥ ६.४.८० ॥

स्त्रिया इयङ। स्त्रियम् स्त्रीम् स्त्रियः स्त्रीः स्त्रिया स्त्रियै स्त्रियाः स्त्रीणाम् स्त्रीषु॥

श्रीः श्रियौ श्रियः।

२१३ नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री ॥ १.४.४ ॥

[२]इयङुवङौ स्थितिर्ययोः तावीदूतौ नदीसंज्ञौ न स्तो न तु स्त्री। हे श्रीः। श्रियै श्रिये श्रियाः[३] श्रियः।[४]

211. In the place of *strī* (6.4.79).

iyaṅ (is substituted), when followed by a termination beginning with a vowel. *striyaḥ*.

212. Optionally, when followed by *am* and *śas* (6.4.80)

In the place of *strī*, *iyaṅ* (is substituted). *striyam, strīm, striyaḥ, strīḥ, striyā, striyai, striyāḥ, strīṇām, strīṣu.*

śrīḥ, śriyau, śriyaḥ.

213. Not (those), which admit *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ*, except *strī* (1.4.4)

The long *ī* and the long *ū*, which are substituted by *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ*, are not designated *nadī*; not, however, (the word) *strī*. *he śrīḥ, śriyai, śriye, śriyāḥ, śriyaḥ.*

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१ V omitted

२ B_1, D. °वङोः

३ B_2 श्रियाम्

४ B_2 omitted

२१४ **वामि** ॥ १.४.५ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्र्याख्यौ यू आमि वा नदीसंज्ञौ स्तो न तु स्त्री। श्रीणाम् श्रियाम्। श्रियाम्[१] श्रियि।

धेनुर्मतिवत्।

२१५ **स्त्रियां च** ॥ ७.१.९६ ॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोष्टुस्तृजन्तवत् रूपं लभते।

२१६ **ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप्** ॥ ४.१.५ ॥

[२]स्त्रियाम्। क्रोष्ट्री। गौरीवत्।

स्वयम्भूः पुंवत्।

214. Optionally, when followed by *ām* (1.4.5)

Long ī and long ū, always feminine, which can be substituted by *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ*, when followed by *ām*, optionally have the designation *nadī*; not, however, (the word) *strī*. *śrīṇām*, *śriyām*, *śriyām*, *śriyi*.

dhenu (is declined) like *mati*.

215. And in the feminine (7.1.96).

The word *kroṣṭu*, signifying feminine, gets the form like what ends in *tṛc*.

216. After *ṛt* and *n*, *ṅīp* (4.1.5).

In the sense of the feminine. *kroṣṭrī*, (to be declined) like *gaurī*.

svayambhūḥ like the masculine.

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१ B_2, V. omitted

२ V ऋदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात्।

२१७ न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः ॥ ४.१.१० ॥

ङीप्।

स्वसा तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च ननान्दा दुहिता तथा।
याता मातेति सप्तैते स्वस्रादय उदाहृताः॥

स्वसा[१] स्वसारौ[२] । माता पितृवत्। शसि मातॄः।
द्यौर्गोवत्। राः पुंवत्। नौग्लौवत्।

॥ इति अजन्ताः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः ॥

217. Not after *ṣaṭ* and *svasṛ*, etc. (4.1.10).

The suffix *ṅīp* (is not appended). *svasṛ, tisṛ, catasṛ, nanāndṛ, duhitṛ, yātṛ* (and) *mātṛ*, these seven are declared to be *svasrādi*. *svasā, svasārau*. *mātṛ* (is declined) like *pitṛ*. When followed by *śas*, (the form is) *mātṝḥ*.

dyo (is declined) like *go; rai* (is declined) like the masculine (*rai*); *nau* (is declined) like *glau*.

Thus ends (the section on) *ajanta strīliṅga* declension.

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१ B_2 omitted

२ B_2 omitted

२१८ अतोऽम् ॥ ७.१.२४ ॥
अतोऽङ्गात् क्लीबात् स्वमोरम्। ज्ञानम्। हे ज्ञान।

२१९ **नपुंसकाच्च** ॥ ७.१.१९ ॥
औङः शी।

२२० **यस्येति च** ॥ ६.४.१४८ ॥
इति [1]अलोपे प्राप्ते।

२२१ **औङः श्यां प्रतिषेधः** ॥
ज्ञाने।

२२२ **जश्शसोः शिः** ॥ ७.१.२० ॥
क्लीबात्।

218. After *at, am* (7.1.24).

After a base, ending in short *a,* of the neuter gender, in the place of *su* and *am, am* (is substituted). *jñānam, he jñāna.*

219. And after the neuter gender (7.1.19).

In the place of *auṅ, śī* (is substituted).

220. In the place of *i* and *a* (short or long) when followed by *ī* also. (6.4.148).

When (by this rule) elision (of *a*) is imminent,

221. In the place of *auṅ,* when substituted by *śī,* (the substitution of elision) is prohibited.

jñane.

222. In the place of *jas* and *śas, śi* (7.1.20).

After (a word of) the neuter gender.

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१ D. लोपे

२२३ **शि सर्वनामस्थानम्** ॥ १.१.४२ ॥

२२४ [1]**नपुंसकस्य झलचः** ॥ ७.१.७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याजन्तस्य[2] क्लीबस्य नुम् सर्वनामस्थाने।

२२५ **मिदचोऽन्त्यात् परः** ॥ १.१.४७ ॥

अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः तस्मात् परः तस्यैवान्तावयवो मित् स्यात्। ज्ञानानि। पुनस्तद्वत्। शेषं पुंवत्। एवं धनादयः।

२२६ **ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य** ॥ १.२.४७ ॥

अजन्तस्यैव। श्रीपं ज्ञानवत्।

223. *śi* (is) *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42).

224. In the case of (a word of) the neuter gender (ending in) a *jhal* or in a vowel (7.1.72).

In the case of a word of the neuter gender ending in a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* or in a vowel, when followed by *sarvanāmasthāna,* (the augment) *num* (is appended).

225. (That) which has an indicatory *m,* after the last vowel (1.1.47).

That, which has an indicatory *m,* (is placed) after that (vowel) which is the last among the vowels (in the base), and forms the final part of it (i.e. the base). *jñānāni.* Again like that. The rest like the masculine. Similarly *dhana* etc. (are declined.

226. In the place of a *prātipadika* in the neuter gender, a short (vowel) (1.2.47).

In the case of (a word) ending in a vowel only. *śrīpa* like *jñāna.*

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१ B_2 this *sūtra* and the comm. thereon omitted; but added later.

२ B_1. च added after °न्तस्य.

२२७ स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् ॥ ७.१.२३ ॥

लुक्। वारि।

२२८ इकोऽचि विभक्तौ ॥ ७.१.७३ ॥

इगन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुम्। वारिणी वारीणि। न [1]लुमतेत्यस्यानित्यत्वात् पक्षे गुणः। हे वारे हे वारि। घेर्ङिति इति गुणे प्राप्ते।

२२९ वृद्ध्यौत्वतृज्वद्भावगुणेभ्यो नुम् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन।

वारिणे वारिणः वारिणोः वारीणाम् वारिणि। हलादौ हरिवत्।

227. In the place of *su* and *am* after the neuter gender (7.1.23).

elision (is substituted). *vāri.*

228. In the case of *ik,* when followed by vowel case-ending. (7.1.73).

In the case of (a word of) the neuter gender ending in *ik,* the (augment) *num* (is appended). *vāriṇī, varīṇi.* Because (the rule) *na lumatā* etc. is not obligatory, alternatively *guṇa* (is substituted). *he vāre, he vāri.* When, by (the rule) *gher ṅiti,* (substitution of) *guṇa* becomes imminent,

229. In contradiction to the preceding (rule), (the augment) *num* (is appended) in preference to *vṛddhi,* and substitution of *au,* and becoming like (a formotion in) *tṛc,* and *guṇa.*

vāriṇe, vāriṇaḥ, vāriṅoḥ, vārīṇām, vāriṇi. When followed by a (case-ending) beginning with a consonant, (*vāri* is declined) like *hari.*

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१ D. न लुमतेतिनिषेधस्यानित्य°

२३० **अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङ् उदात्तः** ॥ ७.१.७५ ॥

टादावचि ।

२३१ **अल्लोपोऽनः** ॥ ६.४.१३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजादिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः। दध्ना दध्ने दध्नः दध्नोः ।

२३२ **विभाषा ङिश्योः** ॥ ६.४.१३६ ॥

अङ्गावयवो यजादिप्रत्ययपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा ङिश्योः। दध्नि दधनि। शेषं वारिवत्। एवम् अस्थि सक्थि अक्षि।

230. In the place of *asthi. dadhi, sakthi,* and *akṣi, anaṅ* acute (7.1.75).

When followed by (a case-ending) from *ṭā* onwards (beginning with) a vowel.

231. In the place of *a* of *an,* elision (6.4.134).

Elision (is substituted) in the place of the letter *a* of the *an,* which has after it a case-ending (*svādi*) beginning with *y* or *ac* (a vowel), excepting the *sarvanāmasthāna,* and which (*an*) is a part of the *aṅga. dadhnā, dadhne, dadhnaḥ, dadhnoḥ.*

232. Optional, when followed by *ṅi* and *śī* (6.4.136).

When followed by *ṅi* and *śī,* elision is optionally (substituted) in the place of the letter *a* belonging to the *an* which is a part of the *aṅga* and which has after it a case-ending beginning with *y* or a vowel. *dadhni, dadhani.* The rest like *vāri.* Similarly (are declined) *asthi, sakthi* and *akṣi.*

सुधि सुधिनी सुधीनि हे सुधे हे सुधि सुधिना ।

मधु मधुनी मधूनि हे मधो हे मधु । एवं अम्ब्वादयः ।

सुलु सुलुनी सुलूनि[1] सुलुना।

धातृ धातृणी धातॄणि हे धातः हे धातृ धातृणा। एवं ज्ञात्रादयः[2] ।

२३३ एच इक् ह्रस्वादेशे ॥ १.१.४८ ॥

प्रद्यु प्रद्युनी प्रद्यूनि प्रद्युना[3] ।

प्ररि प्ररिणी प्ररीणि प्ररिणा[4] । एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत् । प्रराभ्याम् प्ररीणाम् ।

सुनु सुनुनी सुनूनि सुनुना इत्यादि।

॥ इति अजन्ता नपुंसकलिङ्गाः ॥

sudhi, sudhinī, sudhīni, he sudhe, he sudhi, sudhinā.

madhu, madhunī, madhūni, he madho, he madhu. Similarly (are declined) *ambu*, etc.

sulu, sulunī, sulūni, sulunā.

dhātṛ, dhātṛṇī, dhātṝṇi, he dhātaḥ, he dhātṛ, dhātṛṇā. Similarly (are declined) *jñātṛ*, etc.

233. In the place of *ec, ik,* when a short is to be substituted (1.1.48).

pradyu, pradyunī, pradyūni, pradyunā:

prari, prariṇī prarīṇi, prariṇā. What is modified in a part is as if not different (from the original). *prarābhyām, prarīṇām.*

sunu, sununī, sunūni, sununā, etc.

Thus ends (the section on) *ajanta napuṁsakaliṅga* declension.

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१ D omitted

२ D नप्त्रादयः; V ज्ञातृकर्त्रादयः

३ B_2 omitted

४ D omitted

२३४ हो ढः ॥ ८.२.३१ ॥

झलि पदान्ते च। [1]लिट् लिड् लिहौ लिहः लिहा लिड्भ्याम् लिट्सु लिट्त्सु।

२३५ दादेर्धातोर्घः ॥ ८.२.३२ ॥

[2]झलि पदान्ते च। उपदेशे दादेर्धातोः हस्य घः।

२३६ एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः ॥ ८.२.३७ ॥

धात्ववयवस्यैकाचो झषन्तस्य बशो भष् से ध्वे पदान्ते च। धुक् धुग् दुहौ धुग्भ्याम् धुक्षु[3]।

234. In the place of *h*, *ḍh* (8.2.31).

When followed by a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* and at the end of a *pada*. *liṭ*, *liḍ*, *lihau*, *lihaḥ*, *lihā*, *liḍbhyām*, *liṭsu* *liṭtsu*.

235. In the case of a root beginning with *d*, *gh* (8.2.32).

When followed by a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* and at the end of a *pada*, *gh* (is substituted) in the place of *h*, belonging to a root(noun) beginning with *d* in the *upadeśa*.

236. In the place of *baś*, belonging to a monosyllabic (verbal root) ending in *jhaṣ*, *bhaṣ* (is substituted), when followed by *s* and *dhv*. (8.2.37).

In the place of a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *baś*, forming part of a monosyllabic root, a letter (of the *pratyāhāra*) *bhaṣ* (is substituted), when (it is) followed by *s*, *dhv*, or (it is) at the end of a *pada*. *dhuk*, *dhug*, *duhau*, *dhugbhyām*, *dhukṣu*.

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१ B_2 झलि पदान्ते च omitted V; has it after हस्य घः

२ V adds एवं मुट्

३ D omitted

२३७ वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम् ॥ ८.२.३३ ॥

एषां हस्य वा[1] घः। झलि पदान्ते च । ध्रुक् ध्रुग् ध्रुट् ध्रुड् द्रुहौ[2] द्रुहः[3] । ध्रुग्भ्याम् ध्रुड्भ्याम् ध्रुक्षु ध्रुट्सु ध्रुट्त्सु। एवं मुट्[4] ।

२३८ धात्वादेः षः सः ॥ ६.१.६३ ॥

स्नुक् स्नुग्[5] स्नुट् स्नुड्[5] । एवं स्निक् ।

२३९ इग्यणः सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ १.१.४५ ॥

२४० वाह ऊठ् ॥ ६.४.१३२ ॥

भस्य वाहः सम्प्रसारणमूठ् ।

237. Optionally in the case of *druh, muh, ṣṇuh,* and *ṣṇih* (8.2.33).

In the case of these roots, in the place of *h, gh* is optionally (substituted), when it is followed by a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* or (it is) at the end of a *pada. dhruk, dhrug, dhruṭ, dhruḍ, druhau, druhaḥ, dhrugbhyām, dhruḍbhyām, dhrukṣu, dhruṭsu, dhruṭtsu.* Similarly *muṭ*.

238. In the place of *ṣ*, commencing a root, *s* (6.1.63). *snuk, snug, snuṭ, snuḍ.* Similarly *snik*.

239. (The substitution of) *ik* in the place of *yaṇ* (is designated) *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45).

240. In the place of *vāh, ūṭh* (6.4.132).

The *samprasāraṇa* (substitute) in the place of *vāh* (at the end) of a *bha,* is *ūṭh*.

---

१ D omitted

२ B_1 omitted

३ B_2 omitted

४ V reads मुहः। मुट् मुड् मुक् मुग्। for मुट्।

५ B_2 omitted

२४१ सम्प्रसारणाच्च ॥ ६.१.१०६ ॥
सम्प्रसारणादचि [1]पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः ।

२४२ एत्येधत्यूठ्सु ॥ ६.१.८८ ॥
अवर्णात् एजाद्योः एत्येध योः ऊठि च वृद्धिरेकादेशः । विश्वौहः[2] इत्यादि[2] ।

२४३ चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः ॥ ७ १.९८ ॥
सर्वनामस्थाने ।

२४४ सावनडुहः ॥ ७.१.८२ ॥
नुम् । अनड्वान् ।

241. After *samprasāraṇa* also (6.1.106).

When after *samprasāraṇa,* (a vowel) is followed by a vowel, the form of the former is the single substitute (for both).

242. When *eti* and *edhati* and *ūṭh* follow (6.1.88).

When (the forms of) √*i* and √*edh* which begin with *ec* and when the *ādeśa ūṭh* comes after the letter *a* (or *ā*), *vṛddhi* is the single substitute. *viśvauhaḥ*, etc.

243. In the case of *catur* and *anaḍuh,* (the augment) *ām,* acute (7.1.98).

When followed by *sarvanāmasthāna*.

244. When followed by *su,* in the case of *anaḍuh* (7.1.82).

(The augment) *num* (is appended). *anaḍvān*.

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१ B_1 पूर्वमेका°

२ V reads this after पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः in the com. on the preceding *sūtra*

२४५ **अम् सम्बुद्धौ** ॥ ७.१.९९ ॥

चतुरनडुहोः । हे अनड्वन् । अनड्वाहौ अनडुहः[1] ।

२४६ **वसुस्रंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः** ॥ ८.२.७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य[2] स्रंसादेश्च दः पदान्ते । अनडुद्भ्याम् ।

२४७ [3]**सहेः साडः सः** ॥ ८.३.५६ ॥

साड्रूपस्य सहेः सस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः । तुराषाट् तुरासाहौ तुराषाड्भ्याम् ।

२४८ **दिव औत्** ॥ ७.१.८४ ॥

दिव् इति प्रातिपदिकस्य औत्[4] सौ । सुद्यौः सुदिवौ ।

245. *am*, when followed by *sambuddhi* (7.1.99).

In the case of *catur* and *anaḍuh*. *he anaḍvan, anaḍvāhau, anaḍuhaḥ*.

246. In the place of *vas, sraṁs, dhvaṁs*, and *anaḍuh, d*. (8.2.72).

In the place of (the final letter of) a pf. part. in *vas* ending in *s*, and in the place of *sraṁs* etc, *d* (is substituted), (when it stands) at the end of a *pada*. *anaḍudbhyām*.

247. In the place of *s* of √*sah* (in the form) *sāḍ*. (8.3.56).

In the place of *s* of the (verbal root) *sah* having the form *sāḍ*, a cerebral is substituted. *turāṣāṭ, turāsāhau, turaṣāḍbhyām*.

248. In the place of *div, aut* (7.1.84).

In the place of the *prātipadika div, au* is (substituted) when followed by *su*. *sudyauḥ, sudivau*.

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१ B_2 अनड्वाहः

२ D °स्वन्तस्त्रंसा°

३ V this *sūtra* and comm. thereon omitt d

४ V औत् स्यात् सौ ।

२४९ दिव उत् ॥ ६.१.१२९ ॥
पदान्ते । सुद्युभ्याम् ।
चत्वारः चतुरः चतुर्भिः चतुर्भ्यः ॥

२५० षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च ॥ ७.१.५५ ॥
एभ्य आमो नुट् ।

२५१ रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे ॥ ८.४.१ ॥
चतुर्णाम्

२५२ रोः सुपि ॥ ८.३.१६ ॥
रोरेव विसर्गः[१] सुपि । चतुर्षु[२] ।

249. In the place of *div, ut* (6.1.129).

When at the end of a *pada*. *sudyubhyām*.

catvāraḥ, caturaḥ caturbhiḥ, caturbhyaḥ.

250. After *ṣaṭ* and *catur* also (7.1.55).

In the case of *ām* coming after these, (the augment) *nuṭ* (is appended).

251. In the place of *n*, coming after *r* and *ṣ* in the same *pada*, *ṇ* (is substituted) (8.4.1).

caturṇām.

252. In the place of *ru*, when followed by *sup* (8.3.16).

In the place of *ru* alone, *visarga* (is substituted), when followed by *sup* (of loc. plr.). *caturṣu*.

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१ V विसर्जनीयः

२ B₂. The following two *sūtras* and comm. thereon omitted.

२५३ मो नो धातोः ॥ ८.२.६४ ॥
पदान्ते । प्रशान् । प्रशामौ प्रशामः प्रशान्भ्याम् ।

२५४ किमः कः ॥ ७.२.१०३ ॥
विभक्तौ । कः कौ के । सर्ववत् ।

२५५ इदमो मः ॥ ७.२.१०८ ॥
सौ । त्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ।

२५६ इदोऽय् पुंसि ॥ ७.२.१११ ॥
इदमः सौ । अयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वे ।

२५७ अतो गुणे ॥ ६.१.९६ ॥
अपदान्तात् अतो गुणे पररूपमेकादेशः[1] ।

253. In the place of *m* of a verbal root, *n* (8.2.64).

At the end of a *pada*. *praśān, praśāmau, praśāmaḥ praśānbhyām*.

254. In the place of *kim, ka* (7.2.103).

When followed by a *vibhakti*. *kaḥ, kau, ke*. Like *sarva*.

255. In the place of *idam, m* (7.2.108).

When followed by *su* (of nom. sg). Exception to the rule laying down the substitution of *a* in the place of *tyad* etc.

256. In the place of *id, ay*, in the masculine (7.2.111).

(In the place of *id*) of *idam*, when followed by *su* (of nom. sg.) *ayam*. After the substitution of *a* by the rule *tyadādīnām* etc.

257. When *guṇa* follows after *at* (6.1.96).

When, after a short *a*, not standing at the end of a *pada*, *guṇa* follows, the form of the latter is the single substitute.

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१ B_1. परमेका°

२५८ दश्च ॥ ७.२.१०९ ॥

इदमो दस्य मो विभक्तौ। इमौ इमे। त्यदादेः सम्बोधनं नास्ति इति उत्सर्गः।

२५९ अनाप्यकः ॥ ७.२.११२ ॥

अककारस्य इदम इदोऽनापि विभक्तौ। आप् इति प्रत्याहारः। अनेन।

२६० हलि लोपः ॥ ७.२.११३ ॥

अककारस्य इदम इदो लोप आपि हलादौ। नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिः अनभ्यासविकारे। आभ्याम्।

258. And in the place of *d* (7.2.109).

In the place of *d* of *idam*, *m* (is substituted), when followed by a *vibhakti*. *imau, ime*. The general rule is that *tyad* etc. have no vocative.

259. *an* (is substituted) in the place (of *id*) not having *k*, when followed by *āp* (7.2.112).

In the place of *id*, belonging to *idam*, not having the letter *k*, *an* (is substituted), when followed by a case-ending (signified by the *pratyāhāra*) *āp*. *āp* is a *pratyāhāra* (formed with *ā* in *ṭā* of instr. sg. and the indicatory *p* in *sup*, loc. plr.). *anena*.

260. When followed by a consonant, elision (7.2.113).

In the place of *id*, belonging to *idam*, not having the letter *k*, elision (is substituted), when followed by (a case-ending signified by the *pratyāhāra*) *āp*, beginning with a consonant. The rule *alo'ntyasya* does not apply to that which has no meaning (of its own), except in the case of the modifications connected with reduplication. *ābhyām*.

२६१ नेदमदसोरकोः ॥ ७.१.११ ॥

अककारयोरिदमदसोः भिस ऐस् न । एभिः । अस्मै एभ्य अस्मात् अस्य अनयोः एषाम् अस्मिन् एषु ।

राजा ।

२६२ न ङिसम्बुद्ध्योः ॥ ८.२.८ ॥

नलोपः । हे राजन् राजानौ राजानः राजानम्[१] राज्ञः राज्ञा[२] राजभ्याम् ।

२६३ न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ ६.४.१३७ ॥

[३]वमान्तसंयोगात् अनः अकारस्य लोपो न । यज्वनः यज्वभ्याम् । ब्रह्मणः ब्रह्मणा ।

261. Not after *idam* and *adas*, not having *k* (7.1.11).

After *idam* and *adas*, not having the letter *k*, in the place of *bhis*, *ais* (is) not (substituted). *ebhiḥ, asmai, ebhyaḥ, asmāt, asya, anayoḥ, eṣām, asmin, eṣu.*

rājā.

262. Not, when followed by *ṅi* and *sambuddhi* (8.2.8).

The elision of *n*. *he rājan, he rājānau, he rājānaḥ, rājānam, rājñaḥ, rājñā, rājabhyām.*

263. Not, after a conjunct consonant. ending in *v* or *m* (6.4.137).

In the place of the letter *a*, belonging to *an*, coming after a conjunct consonant ending in *v* or *m*, elision is not (substituted). *yajvanaḥ, yajvabhyām*; *brahmaṇaḥ, brahmaṇā.*

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१ V adds राजानौ after राजानम्

२ V omitted

३ B_3 वमन्त°

२६४ इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ ॥ ६.४.१२ ॥
एषां शावेव उपधाया दीर्घः ॥

२६५ सौ च ॥ ६.४.१३ ॥
[1]इन्नादीनामुपधाया दीर्घोऽसम्बुद्धौ सौ। वृत्रहा हे वृत्रहन्।

२६६ [2]एकाजुत्तरपदे णः ॥ ८.४.१२ ॥
एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन् समासे पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात् परस्य[3] प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिस्थस्य नस्य णः। वृत्रहणौ।

264. In the case of *in, han, pūṣan* and *aryaman,* when followed by *śi* (6.4.12).

In the case of these, in the place of the penultimate, long (vowel is substituted) when followed by *śi* only.

265. And when followed by *su* (6.4.13).

In the place of the penultimate in the case of (words ending in) *in,* etc., long (vowel is substituted), when followed by *su,* not (of the) *sambuddhi. vṛtrahā, he vṛtrahan.*

266. In (a compound) having a monosyllabic latter member, *ṇ* (8.4.12).

In that compound, whose latter member has only one vowel, *ṇ* (is substituted) in the place of *n* standing at the end of a *prātipadika,* or in (the augment) *num,* or in a case-ending, when it comes after the cause (for the cerebralisation) standing in the previous member. *vṛtrahaṇau.*

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१ B_2 इनादीना°

२ B_1 this *sūtra* missing

३ D. परप्राति°

२६७ हो [1]हन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु ॥ ७.३.५४ ॥

ञ्णिति णिति च प्रत्यये ने[2] च परे हन्तेर्हस्य कुत्वम्। वृत्रघ्न: इत्यादि।

[3]एवं शार्ङ्गिन् यशस्विन् अर्यमन् पूषन्।

२६८ मघवा बहुलम् ॥ ६.४.१२८ ॥

मघवन्शब्दस्य वा तृ [4]इत्यादेश:। ऋ इत्।

२६९ उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः ॥ ७.१.७० ॥

267. In the place of *h* belonging to √*han*, when followed by suffixes having indicatory *ñ* or *ṇ*, or by *n* (7.3.54).

When followed by a suffix having indicatory *ñ* or *ṇ* or by *n*, in the place of *h* belonging to the verbal root *han*, *kutva*, (i.e. *gh*) is substituted. *vṛtraghnaḥ* etc. Similarly (are declined) *śārṅgin, yaśasvin, aryaman, pūṣan.*

268. (In the case of) *maghavan*, mostly (6.4.128).

In the case of the word *maghavan*, *tṛ* (is) mostly substituted. (In *tṛ* here) *ṛ* is indicatory.

269. In the case of that which, not being a verbal root, has *uk* indicatory, and in the case of (the verbal root) *añc*, when it is followed by *sarvanāmasthāna*. (7.1.70).

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१ B_1, B_2, V हन्तेर्ञ्णि
२ B_1 णे
३ D. omitted
४ V. इत्यन्तादेश:

अधातोः उगितो नलोपिनोऽञ्चतेश्च नुम् स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने। मघवान् मघवन्तौ मघवन्तः हे मघवन् मघवन्तम्[१] मघवतः मघवद्-भ्याम्[२]। तृत्वाभावे सुटि राजवत्।

२७० **श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ ६.४.१३३।**

[३]अन्नन्तानां [४]भानामेषामतद्धिते सम्प्रसारणम्[५]। मघोनः[६] मघवभ्याम्।

एवं श्वन् युवन्।

In the case of that which, not being a verbal root, has indicatory *uk,* and in the case of the verbal root *añc* which has its *n* elided, (the augment) *num* is (appended), when it is followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna. maghavān, maghavantau, maghavantaḥ, he maghavan, maghavantam, maghavataḥ, maghavadbhyām*. In the absence of the substitution of *tṛ*(=*t*), when followed by (the case-endings signified by the *pratyāhāra*) *suṭ,* (the word *maghavan* is declined) like *rājan.*

270. In the place of *śvan, yuvan* and *maghavan,* when followed by (a suffix) not *taddhita.* (6.4.133).

In the place of these words ending in *an,* which are *bha,* when followed by (a *pratyaya*) other than a *taddhita, samprasāraṇa* (is substituted). *maghonaḥ, maghavabhyām.* Similarly (are declined) *śvan* and *yuvan.*

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१ B_2 adds मघवन्तौ after मघवन्तम्।

२ D adds मघवद्भिः after °द्भ्याम्।

३ B_1, B_2 अनन्तानां

४ V भसंज्ञकाना°

५ B_1, B_2 °णं स्यात्

६ V मघोना मघवद्भ्याम् इत्यादि

२७१ न सम्प्रसारणे सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ ६.१.३७ ॥

यूनः युवभ्याम् ।

२७२ पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् ॥ ७.१.८५ ॥

सौ ।

२७३ इतोऽत् सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ ७.१.८६ ॥

पथ्यादेः ।

२७४ थो न्थः ॥ ७.१.८७ ॥

पथिमथोः थस्य न्थादेशः सर्वनामस्थाने । पन्थाः पन्थानौ ।

२७५ भस्य टेर्लोपः ॥ ७.१.८८ ॥

पथ्यादेः । पथः[१] । पथिभ्याम् ।

एवं मन्थाः ऋभुक्षाः ।

271. When followed by a *samprasāraṇa*, not *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.37).

yūnaḥ, yuvabhyām.

272. In the place of *pathin, mathin* and *ṛbhukṣin, āt* (7.1.85). When followed by *su* (nom. sg.).

273. In the place of *it, at,* when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna* (7.1.86).

In the case of *pathin* etc.

274. In the place of *th, nth* (7.1.87).

In the place of *th,* belonging to *pathin* and *mathin, nth* is substituted, when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna. panthāḥ, panthānau.*

275. In the place of *ṭi* of *bha,* elision (7.1.88).

In the case of *pathin* etc. *pathaḥ, pathibhyām.* Similarly *manthāḥ, ṛbhukṣāḥ.*

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१ B_1 omitted

२७६ ष्णान्ता षट् ॥ १.१.२४ ॥

षान्ता नान्ता च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात्। पञ्च पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः[1] ।

२७७ नोपधायाः ॥ ६.४.७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घो नामि। पञ्चानाम्। पञ्चसु।

२७८ अष्टन आ विभक्तौ ॥ ७.२.८४ ॥

हलादौ वा स्यात्।

२७९ अष्टाभ्य औश् ॥ ७.१.२१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनो जस्शसोरौश्। अष्टौ अष्टाभिः अष्टाभ्यः अष्टानाम् अष्टासु। [2]आत्वाभावे अष्ट पञ्चवत्।

276. (A numeral) ending in *ṣ* or *n* (is designated) *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24)

A numeral, ending in *ṣ* or *n*, is designated *ṣaṭ*. *pañca, pañcabhiḥ, pañcabhyaḥ*.

277. In the place of the penultimate of *n* (6.4.7).

In the place of the penultimate of (a word) ending in *n*, a long (vowel is substituted), when followed by *nām*. *pañcānām, pañcasu*.

278. In the place of *aṣṭan*, *ā*, when followed by a *vibhakti* (7.2.84),

is optionally (substituted), when followed by (a case-ending) beginning with a consonant.

279. In the place of *aṣṭan*, *auś* (7.1.21).

In the place of *jas* and *śas*, coming after *aṣṭan*, in which the letter *ā* is substituted, *auś* (is substituted). *aṣṭau, aṣṭābhiḥ, aṣṭābhyaḥ, aṣṭānām, aṣṭāsu*. In the absence of the substitution of *ā*, *aṣṭan* (is declined) like *pañcan*.

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१ B_1 omitted

२ B_1 From आत्वाभावे upto एभ्यः क्विन् omitted

२८० ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च ॥ ३.२.५९ ॥
एभ्यः क्विन् । अञ्चेः सुप्युपपदे युजिक्रुञ्चोः केवलयोः क्रुञ्चेर्नलोपाभावश्च निपात्यते । कनावितौ ।

२८१ कृदतिङ् ॥ ३.१.९३ ॥
अत्र धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञः ।

२८२ वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६.१.६६ ॥
लोपः ॥

२८३ युजेरसमासे ॥ ७.१.७१ ॥
नुम् सर्वनामस्थाने ।

280. And in the case of *ṛtvij, dadhṛk, sraj, diś, uṣṇih, añcu, yuji,* and *kruñc* (3.2.59).

After these the suffix *kvin* (is appended). After √*añc*, when it has a word ending in a case-ending (*sup* i.e. *subanta*) as its *upapada,* and after √*yuj* and √*kruñc* by themselves, (the suffix *kvin*), and the absence of the elision of *n* in the case of √*kruñc,* are declared (to be correct). *k* and *n* (in *kvin*) are indicatory.

281. (A *pratyaya*) other than a *tiṅ* (is designated) *kṛt* (3.1.93).

In this topic concerning roots (*dhātu*), a *pratyaya,* other than *tiṅ*, has the designation *kṛt.*

282. In the place of *vi, apṛkta* (6.1.66).
elision (is substituted).

283. In the case of *yuji* (√*yuj*), not in a compound (7.1.71).

The (augment) *num* (is appended), when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna.*

२८४ क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः ॥ ८.२.६२ ॥

[1]क्विन्प्रत्ययो यस्मात्[2] तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेशः पदान्ते । संयोगान्तलोपः । कुत्वेन नस्य ङः । युङ् युञ्जौ युञ्जः युग्भ्याम् ।

२८५ चोः कुः ॥ ८.२.३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्यात् झलि पदान्ते च । सुयुक् सुयुजौ सुयुग्भ्याम् । ऋत्विक् ऋत्विजौ[3] ऋत्विग्भ्याम् ।

२८६ व्रश्चभ्रस्जसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः ॥ ८.२.३६ ॥

284. In the place of (a formation in) the suffix *kvin*, *ku* (8.2.62).

In the place of that, after which the suffix *kvin* is appended, *kavarga* is the substitute for the final, at the end of a *pada*. Elision is (substituted) for the final of a conjunct consonant. Owing to the substitution of *ku*, in the place of *n*, *ṅ* is substituted. *yuṅ, yuñjau, yuñjaḥ, yugbhyām.*

285. In the place of *cu*, *ku* (8.2.30).

In the place of *cavarga, kavarga* (is substituted), when followed by a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* or when at the end of a *pada*. *suyuk, suyujau, suyugbhyām. ṛtvik, ṛtvijau, ṛtvigbhyām.*

286. In the place of *vraśc. bhrasj, sṛj, mṛj, yaj, rāj, bhrāj* and (roots ending in) *ch* and *ś*, *ṣ* (8.2.36).

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१ B_1 From क्विन्प्रत्ययो upto नस्य ङः omitted

२ D adds क्रियते after यस्मात्

३ D adds ऋत्विजः after ऋत्विजौ

झलि पदान्ते च। जश्त्वचर्त्वे। राट् राड् राजौ राड्भ्याम्[1]। एवं विभ्राट् देवेट्[2] विश्वसृट्।

२८७ स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च ॥ ८.२.२९ ॥

पदान्ते झलि च यः संयोगः तदाद्योः [3]सकलोपः। भृट्। सस्य श्चुत्वेन शः। झलां जश् झशि इति शस्य जः। भृज्जौ[4] भृड्भ्याम्।

त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वम्।

२८८ तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः ॥ ७.२.१०६ ॥

when followed by a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* or at the end of a *pada*. (Then takes place) the substitution of *jaś* and of *car*. *rāṭ, rāḍ, rājau, rāḍbhyām*. Similarly (are declined) *vibhrāj, devej,* and *viśvasṛj*.

287. In the place of *s* or *ku,* standing at the beginning of a conjunct consonant, at the end (of a *pada*) also. (8.2.29).

In the place of *s* and *ku,* standing at the beginning of a conjunct consonant at the end of a *pada,* or when followed by a *jhal,* elision is substituted. *bhṛṭ*. In the place of *s, ś* (is substituted), by the substitution of *ścu*. In the place of *ś, j* (is substituted), by the rule *jhalām jaś jhaśi. bhṛjjau. bhṛḍbhyām.*

(In the case of *tyad*), take place the substitution of *a,* and of the form of the latter.

288. In the place of *t* and *d,* not final, *s* (is substituted), when followed by *su* (nom. sg.) (7.2.106).

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१ B_2 adds इत्यादि after राड्भ्याम्

२ B_1 omitted

३ D सकारककारयोः

४ V adds भृज्जः after भृज्जौ

त्यदादीनां तदयोः अनन्त्ययोः स स्यात् सौ । स्यः त्यौ त्ये[१] । सः तौ ते । यः । एषः एतौ एते ।

२८९ ङेप्रथमयोरम् ॥ ७.१.२८ ॥
युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य ङेः प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्च अमादेशः ।

२९० त्वाहौ सौ ॥ ७.२.९४ ॥
अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य[२] ।

२९१ शेषे लोपः ७.२.९० ॥
एतयोष्टिलोपः । त्वम् अहम् ।

In the place of the not final *t* and *d* belonging to *tyad* etc., *s* is (substituted), when followed by *su*. *syaḥ, tyau, tye; saḥ, tau, te*; *yaḥ*; *eṣaḥ*, *etau*, *etc*:

289. In the place of *ṅe* and of nom. and acc., *am* is substituted (7.1.28).

In the place of *ṅe* and of (the case-endings of) nom. and acc. coming after *yuṣmad*, and *asmad, am* is substituted.

290. *tva* and *aha*, when followed by *su* (7.2.94).

In the place of these two, upto (the letter) *m*.

291. In the remaining (cases), elision (7.2.90).

In the place of these two (words), elision of *ṭi* (takes place). *tvam, aham*.

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१ Here V adds त्यदादीनां सम्बोधनं नास्ति ।

२ V adds त्वाहावादेशौ स्तः ।

२९२ **युवावौ द्विवचने** ॥ ७.२.९२ ॥
द्वयोरुक्तावनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य[१] विभक्तौ ।

२९३ **प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम्** ॥ ७.२.८८ ॥
एतयोरात्वम् । युवाम् आवाम् ।

२९४ **यूयवयौ जसि** ॥ ७.२.९३ ॥
अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य । यूयम् वयम् ।

२९५ **त्वमावेकवचने** ॥ ७.२.९७ ॥
एकस्योक्तौ विभक्तावनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य[२] ।

292. *yuva* and *āva*, when followed by dual (case-endings). (7.2.92).

When two are expressed, in the place of these two upto (the letter) *m*, when followed by a case-ending.

293. And when followed by the dual of the nominative, in common parlance (7.2.88).

In the place of these, *ā* is (substituted). *yuvām*, *āvām*.

294. *yūya* and *vaya*, when followed by *jas* (7.2.93).

In the place of these two upto (the letter) *m*. *yūyam*. *vayam*.

295. *tva* and *ma*, when followed by singular (7.2.97).

When one is expressed, (*tva* and *ma* are substituted) in the place of these two upto *ma*, when followed by a case-ending.

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१ V adds युवावौ स्तो before विभक्तौ ।

२ B_2 All this omitted

२९६ **द्वितीयायां च** ॥ ७.२.८७ ॥

अनयोरात् स्यात् । त्वाम् माम् ।

२९७ **शसो न** ॥ ७.१.२९ ॥

आभ्यां शसो नः । आदेः परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् अस्मान् ।

२९८ **योऽचि** ॥ ७.२.८९ ॥

अनयोर्यादेशः अनादेशेऽजादौ । त्वया मया ।

२९९ **युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे** ॥ ७.२.८६ ॥

अनयोरात् स्यात् अनादेशे हलादौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् आवाभ्याम् युष्माभिः अस्माभिः ।

296. And when followed by the accusative (case-endings) (7.2.87).

In the place of these two. *ā* is substituted, *tvām, mām*.

297. In the place of *śas, n* (7.1.29).

After these two, in the place of *śas, n* (is substituted). In the place of the initial of the latter. Elision of the final of a conjunct consonant. *yuṣmān, asmān*.

298. *y*, when followed by a vowel (7.2.89).

In the place of these two, *y* is substituted, when followed by (case-ending) beginning with a vowel not a substitute. *tvayā, mayā*.

299. In the place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when followed by a *pratyaya* that is not a substitute (7.2.86).

In the place of these two, *ā* is substituted when followed by a *vibhakti*, which begins with a consonant and which is not a substitute. *yuvābhyām, āvābhyām, yuṣmābhiḥ, asmābhiḥ*.

३०० **तुभ्यमह्यौ ङयि** ॥ ७.२.९५ ॥
अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य । टिलोपः । तुभ्यम् मह्यम् ।

३०१ **भ्यसोऽभ्यम्** ॥ ७.१.३० ॥
आभ्यां परस्य । युष्मभ्यम् अस्मभ्यम् ।

३०२ **एकवचनस्य च** ॥ ७.१.३२ ॥
आभ्यां ङसेरत् । त्वत् मत् ।

३०३ **पञ्चम्या अत्** ॥ ७.१.३१ ॥
आभ्यां भ्यसः । युष्मत् अस्मत् ।

३०४ **तवममौ ङसि** ॥ ७.२.९६ ॥
अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य ।

३०५ **युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोऽश्** ॥ ७.१.२७ ॥
तव मम युवयोः आवयोः ।

300. *tubhya* and *mahya,* when followed by *ṅe* (7.2.95). In the place of these two, upto *m*. Elision of *ṭi*. *tubhyam, mahyam*.

301. In the place of *bhyas, abhyam* (7.1.30).
When coming after these two. *yuṣmabhyam, asmabhyam*.

302. And of the singular (7.1.32).
In the place of *ṅasi* coming after these two, *a* short is substituted. *tvat, mat*.

303. In the place of the ablative, *at*. (7.1.31).
In the place of *bhyas* coming after these two. *yuṣmat, asmat*.

304. *tava* and *mama,* when followed by *ṅas* (7.2.96).
In the place of these two, upto *m*.

305. After *yuṣmad* and *asmad,* in the place of *ṅas, aś* (7.1.27). *tava, mama, yuvayoḥ, āvayoḥ*.

३०६ **साम आकम्** ॥ ७.१.३३ ॥
[1]युष्माकम् अस्माकम् । त्वयि मयि युष्मासु अस्मासु ।

३०७ **युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वांनावौ** ॥ ८.१.२० ॥
पदात् परयोः अपादादौ स्थितयोः षष्ठ्यादिविशिष्टयोर्वांनावौ स्तः।

३०८ **बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ** ॥ ८.१.२१ ॥
उक्तविधयोरनयोः षष्ठ्यादिबहुवचनान्तयोः वस्नसौ स्तः ।

३०९ **तेमयावेकवचनस्य** ॥ ८.१.२२ ॥
उक्तविधयोरनयो[2] रेतौ स्तः ।

306. In the place of *sām, ākam* (7.1.33).

yuṣmākam, asmākam. tvayi, mayi, yuṣmāsu, asmāsu.

307. In the place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* standing in gen., dat. and acc. *vām* and *nau*. (8.1.20)

In the place of these standing after a *pada* and not standing at the beginning of a *pāda*, when attended by gen. and other (case-endings), *vām* and *nau* are (substituted).

308. In the case of the plural, *vas* and *nas* (8.1.21).

In the place of these two as described (above), attended by the plural case-ending of gen. etc., *vas* and *nas* are (substituted).

309. *te* and *me* in the place of the singular (8.1.22).

In the place of these two, as described (above), these two are (substituted).

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१ B_1 adds आभ्यां साम आकं before युष्माकम्

२ V रनयोः षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः

३१० [1]त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः ॥ ८.१.२३ ॥
द्वितीयैकवचनान्तयोः त्वा मा एतौ स्तः ॥
श्रीशस्त्वावतु मापीह दत्तात् ते मेऽपि शर्म सः ।
स्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरिः पातु वामपि नौ विभुः ॥
सुखं वां नौ ददात्वीशः पतिर्वामपि नौ हरिः ।
सोऽव्याद्वो नः शिवं वो नो दद्यात् सेव्योऽत्र वः स नः ॥

३११ एकवाक्ये[2] युष्मदस्मदादेशा वक्तव्याः । एकतिङ् वाक्यम् ॥
तेनेह न । ओदनं पच । तव भविष्यति ।
सुपात् सुपादौ सुपादः[3] ।

310. *tvā* and *mā* in the place of the accusative (8.1.23). In the place (of these two) attended by acc. sg. case-ending, *tvā, mā* are (substituted).

May the Lord of *Śri* protect thee and me also here; may he bestow happiness on thee as also on me. That Hari is thy as also my lord; may the omnipresent (lord) protect you two and us two also. May the Lord give happiness to you two and us two also. Hari is the Lord of you two and us two also. May he protect you and us (also); may he bestow bliss on you and (also) on us. He is the object of worship here to you and (also) to us.

311. It must be laid down that the substitutes of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* (should be used) in one sentence.

A sentence is what has only one verb.

Hence (they can) not (be used) in sentences like these: *odanaṁ paca, tava bhaviṣyati.*

supāt, supādau, supādaḥ.

---

१ B_1 This *sūtra* and the comm. thereon omitted

२ B_2 °क्ये तु

३ D, V omitted

३१२ **पादः पत्** ॥ ६.४.१३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यदङ्गं भं तदवयवस्य पाच्छब्दस्य[1] पदादेशः । सुपदः । सुपाद्भ्याम् ।

३१३ [2]**अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति** ॥ ६.४.२४ ॥

[3]हलन्तानामनिदितामङ्गानामुपधाया नस्य लोपः [4]किति ङिति । नुम् । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । नस्य कुत्वेन ङः । प्राङ् प्राञ्चौ प्राञ्चः ।

३१४ **अचः** ॥ ६.४.१३८ ॥

लुप्तनकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः ।

312. In the place of *pād, pat* (6.4.130).

In the place of the word *pāda,* forming part of that *aṅga bha* which ends in the word *pād, pad* is substituted. *supadaḥ, supādbhyām.*

313. In the place of the penultimate of consonantal (bases) not having an indicatory short *i,* when followed by what has indicatory *k* or *ṅ* (6.4.24).

In the place of the penultimate *n,* belonging to the bases ending in a consonant and not having an indicatory short *i,* elision is substituted, when followed by that which has an indicatory *k* or *ṅ*. (The augment) *num* (is appended). Elision (is substituted) in the place of the final of the conjunct consonant. In the place of *n, ṅ* is (substituted) by the substitution of *ku. prāṅ, prāñcau, prāñcaḥ.*

314. In the place of *ac* (6.4.138).

In the place of the *a,* belonging to the *bha* of (the verbal root) *añc* with its *n* dropped, elision is (substituted).

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१ B_1 omitted

२ B_1 this *sūtra* omitted

३ B_1 reads अनिदितां हल उपधाया° ।

४ B_2 From किति ङिति upto °न्तस्य लोपः omitted

३१५ चौ ॥ ६.३.१३७ ॥

लुप्ताकारनकारेऽञ्चतौ परे पूर्वस्याचो[1] दीर्घः। प्राचः[2] प्राग्भ्याम्। प्रत्यङ प्रत्यञ्चौ प्रतीचः। प्रत्यग्भ्याम्।

उदङ। उदञ्चौ।

३१६ उद ईत् ॥ ६.४.१३९ ॥

उच्छब्दात् परस्य लुप्तनकाराञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य ईत्। उदीचः। उदग्भ्याम्।

३१७ समः समि ॥ ६.३.९२ ॥

अप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ। सम्यङ समञ्चौ समीचः। [3]सम्यग्भ्याम्।

315. When followed by *cu* (6.3.137).

When followed by the (verbal root) *añc* with its *n* and *a* elided, in the place of the preceding *aṇ*, a long (vowel) (is substituted). *prācaḥ, prāgbhyām; pratyaṅ, pratyañcau, pratīcaḥ, pratyagbhyām.*

udaṅ, udañcau.

316. After *ud, īt* (6.4.139).

Long *ī* (is substituted) in the place of the letter *a*, belonging to the *bha*, the form of the verbal root *añc* which has its *n* elided, coming after the word *ud*. *udīcaḥ, udagbhyām.*

317. In the place of *sam, sami* (6.3.92).

When followed by the verbal root *añc* not having a *pratyaya* at the end. *samyaṅ, samyañcau, samīcaḥ, samyagbhyām.*

१ V स्याचो; B_2 पूर्वस्य दीर्घः

२ B_1; B_2 omitted; V adds प्राचा after प्राचः

३ V omitted

३१८ **सहस्य सध्रि.** ॥ ६.३.९४ ॥

तथा । सध्र्यङ ।

३१९ **तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे** ॥ ६.३.९३ ॥

अलुप्ताकारे[१]ऽञ्चतौ अप्रत्ययान्ते तिरसस्तिर्यादेशः । तिर्यङ तिर्यञ्चौ तिरश्चः । तिर्यग्भ्याम् ।

३२० **नाञ्चेः पूजायाम्** ॥ ६.४.३० ॥

पूजार्थस्याञ्चतेर्नस्य लोपो न । प्राङ् प्राञ्चौ[२] । नलोपाभावादलोपो न । प्राञ्चः प्राङभ्याम्[3] । प्राङक्षु । एवं पूजार्थे प्रत्यङादयः ।

क्रुङ् क्रुञ्चौ क्रुङ्भ्याम्[४] ।

318. In the place of *saha*, *sadhri* (6.3.94).

Similarly. *sadhryaṅ*.

319. In the place of *tiras*, *tiri*, when followed by (*añc*) (with its *a*) not elided (6.3.93).

tiri is the substitute for *tiras*, when followed by (the verbal root) *añc* with its letter *a* not elided and not having a *pratyaya* at the end. *tiryaṅ*, *tiryañcau*, *tiraścaḥ*, *tiryagbhyām*.

320. Not in the case of (the verbal root) *añc* in the sense of *pūjā* (6.4.30).

In the place of *n*, belonging to (the verbal root) *añc* signifying reverence, elision is not (substituted). *prāṅ*, *prāñcau*. Owing to the absence of the elision of *n*, there is no elision of *a* (also). *prāñcaḥ*, *prāṅbhyām*, *prāṅkṣu*. Similarly (are declined) *pratyañc* etc. in the sense of reverence.

kruṅ, *kruñcau*, *kruṅbhyām*.

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१ B_2 °काराञ्चतौ°

२ B_2 From प्राञ्चौ upto प्राञ्चः omitted

३ After प्राङ्भ्यां V reads ङ्णोः कुक्टुक शरि वा स्तः । प्राङ्षु । प्राङ्क्षु ।

४ V reads क्रुञ्च iustead of क्रुङ्भ्याम् ।

पयोमुक् पयोमुचौ पयोमुग्भ्याम् ।
उगित्त्वान्नुम् ।

३२१ **सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ ६.४.१० ॥**

सान्तसंयोगस्य महतश्च यो नकारः तस्योपधाया दीर्घोऽसम्बुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने । महान् महान्तौ महान्तः । हे महन् महतः महद्भ्याम् ।

३२२ **अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ ६.४.१४ ॥**

अत्वन्तस्योपधाया[१] दीर्घो धातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासम्बुद्धौ सौ । धीमान् धीमन्तौ । हे धीमन्[२] । शसादौ महद्वत् ।

payomuk, payomucau, payomugbhyām. Here (the augment) *num* is appended owing to its being (formed with a suffix) having an indicatory *u*.

321. In the place of (a conjunct consonant) ending in *s*, or of *mahat* (6.4.10).

In the place of the penultimate of the letter *n*, belonging to a conjunct consonant ending in *s* or to *mahat*, a long (vowel is substituted), when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna* other than *sambuddhi. mahān, mahāntau, mahāntaḥ, he mahan, mahataḥ, mahadbhyām.*

322. And of that, which ends in *atu* and in *as*, and which is not a verbal root (6.4.14).

In the place of the penultimate of that which ends in *atu*, and of that which ends in *as*, but is not a verbal root, a long (vowel is substituted) when followed by *su*, not a *sambuddhi*. *dhīmān, dhīmantau, he dhīman.* When followed by (case-endings) beginning with *śas*, (it is declined) like *mahat*.

---

१ V धातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चोपधाया

२ V omitted; D adds धीमन्तः before हे धीमन् ।

३२३ **र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः ॥ ८.२.७६ ॥**

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः पदान्ते। पिपठीः पिपठिषौ पिपठीर्भ्याम्।

३२४ **नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि ॥ ८.३.५८ ॥**

एतैः प्रत्येकं व्यवधानेऽपि इण्कुभ्यां परस्य सस्य षः। ष्टुत्वेन पूर्वस्य[8] षः । पिपठीष्षु।

विद्वान् विद्वांसौ हे विद्वन्।

३२५ **वसोः सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ ६.४.१३१ ॥**

वस्वन्तस्य भस्य सम्प्रसारणं स्यात्। विदुषः विद्वद्भ्याम्।

323. In the place of *ik*, the penultimate of (verbal root, ending in) *r*, or *v*, a long (vowel) (8.2.76).

In the place of *ik*, the penultimate of a verbal root ending in *r* or *v*, a long (vowel is substituted) when at the end of a *pada*. *pipaṭhīḥ, pipaṭhiṣau, pipaṭhīrbhyām.*

324. Even in (the case of) intervention by *num, visarga,* and *śar* (8.3.58).

Even in the case of intervention by these, severally, in the place of *s* coming after *iṇ* or *ku*, *ṣ* (is substituted). Owing to the substitution of *ṣṭu*, in the place of the former, *ṣ* (is substituted). *pipaṭhīṣṣu.*

vidvān, vidvāṁsau, he vidvan.

325. In the place of *vasu, samprasāraṇa* (6.4.131).

samprasāraṇa is substituted in the place of a *bha*, ending in (the suffix) *vasu. viduṣaḥ, vidvadbhyām.*

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८ B₂ °वंसस्य; V all this omitted

३२६ पुंसोऽसुङ् ॥ ७.१.८९ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने । पुमान् हे पुमन् पुमांसौ पुंसः[१] । पुम्भ्याम् पुंसु । वेधाः[२] वेधसौ हे वेधः । वेधोभ्याम् ।

३२७ अदस औ सुलोपश्च ॥ ७.२.१०७ ॥

अदस औत् स्यात् सुलोपश्च । असौ ।

३२८ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः ॥ ८.२.८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य दात्परस्य उदूतौ स्तो दस्य मश्च । आन्तरतम्यात् ह्रस्वस्य उः दीर्घस्य ऊः । अमू । जसः शी । गुणः

326. In the place of *pums, asuṅ* (7.1.89).

When followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna*. *pumān, he puman, pumāṁsau, puṁsaḥ, pumbhyām, puṁsu.*

vedhāḥ, vedhasau, he vedhaḥ, vedhobhyām.

327. In the place of *adas, au,* and elision of *su* (7.2.107).

In the place of *adas, aut* is substituted, and *su* is elided. *asau.*

328. In the case of *adas,* not (ending in) *s,* coming after *d, u* (short or long), (and) in the place of *d, m.* (8.2.80)

In the case of *adas,* not ending in *s,* in the place of that which comes after *d, u* or *ū* is substituted; and in the place of *d, m* (is substituted). Owing to the principle of closest similarity, in the place of short, short *u,* and in the place of long, long *ū* (is substituted). *amū.* In the place of *jas, śī* (is substituted). Then *guṇa* (is substituted).

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१ B_2 पुमांसः before पुंसः

२ B_2 omitted

३२९ एत ईत् बहुवचने ॥ ८.२.८१ ॥

अदसो दात् परस्य एत ईत् दस्य[1] च मो बह्वर्थोक्तौ । अमी अमुम्[2] अमून् । मुत्वे कृते घिसंज्ञायां नाभावः ।

३३० न मु ने ॥ ८.२.३ ॥

नाभावे कर्तव्ये कृते च मुभावो नासिद्धः । अमुना अमूभ्याम अमीभिः अमुष्मै अमीभ्यः अमुष्मात् अमुष्य अमुयोः अमीषाम् अमुष्मिन अमीषु ।

॥ इति हलन्तपुंल्लिङ्ग ॥

329. In the place of *et*, *īt*, when followed by plural (8.2.81).

In the place of *e* coming after *d*, belonging to *adas*, *ī* (is substituted) and in the place of *d*, *m* (is substituted), when the sense of the plural is to be expressed. *amī, amum, amūn.* After *mu* is substituted (for *d*), the designation *ghi* becomes applicable and hence the substitution of *nā* (for *ṭā*).

330. *mu* (is) not, when *n* (is, or is to be, substituted) (8.2.3).

After the substitution of *nā* is made or has to be made, the substitution of *mu* is not (to be considered as being) ineffective. *amunā, amūbhyām, amībhiḥ, amuṣmai, amībhiḥ, amuṣmāt, amuṣya, amuyoḥ, amīṣām, amuṣmin, amīṣu.*

Thus ends (the section on) *halanta puṁllinga* declension.

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१ B_1 omitted; B_2; D च omitted

२ B_1 अमू; B_2 D अम् added after अमुम्; V adds
पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकाय प्राक् पश्चादुत्वमत्वे । अमुम् अमू अमून् ।

३३१ **नहो धः ॥ ८.२.३४ ॥**

झलि पदान्ते च ।

३३२ **नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्वौ ॥ ६.३.११५ ॥**

क्विबन्तेषु एषु[1] दीर्घः । उपानत् उपानहौ उपानद्भ्याम् उपानत्सु ।

उष्णिक्[2] उष्णिहौ उष्णिग्भ्याम् ।

द्यौः दिवौ द्युभ्याम् ।

गीः गिरौ[3] गीर्भ्याम् । एवं पूः । चतस्रः चतसृणाम्[4] ।

का के काः सर्वावत् ।

331. In the place of *nah, dh* (8.2.34).

When followed by a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* or at the end of a *pada*.

332. When followed by the verbal roots *nah, vṛt, vṛṣ, vyadh, ruc, sah,* and *tan* with *kvi* affixed to them (6.3.115).

When followed by these, ending in the suffix *kvip,* a long (vowel is substituted for the vowel in what precedes them). *upānat, upānahau, upānadbhyām, upānatsu.*

uṣṇik, uṣṇihau, uṣṇigbhyām.

dyauḥ, divau, dyubhyām.

gīḥ, girau, gīrbhyām. Similarly (is declined) *pur. catasraḥ, catasṛṇām.*

kā, ke, kāḥ, like *sarvā.*

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१ B_2, V omitted

२ B_2 omitted

३ B_2 गिरः added after गिरौ

४ V. चतसृषु added after °सृणाम

३३३ यः सौ ॥ ७.२.११० ॥

इदमो[1] दस्य यः[2] । इयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वम् । टाप् । दश्चेति मः । इमे इमाः इमाम् अनया आभ्याम् आभिः अस्यै अस्याः आसाम् अस्याम् आसु ।

स्रक् स्रजौ[3] स्रग्भ्याम् ।

स्या त्ये त्याः । एवं तद् यद् एतद् ।

वाक् वाचौ वाग्भ्याम् ।

आपः अपः ।

३३४ अपो भि ॥ ७.४.४८ ॥

अपस्तो भादौ प्रत्यये । अद्भिः अद्भ्यः अपाम् अप्सु[4] ।

333. *y*, when followed by *su* (7.2.110).

In the place of *d* belonging to *idam*, *y* (is substituted). *iyam*. The substitution of *a* by the rule *tyadādīnām* etc. (Then) *ṭāp* (is appended). Then *m* (is substituted for *d* by the rule) *daśca*. *ime*, *imāḥ*, *imām*, *anayā*, *ābhyām*, *ābhiḥ*, *asyai*, *asyāḥ*, *āsām*, *asyām*, *āsu*.

srak, *srajau*, *sragbhyām*.

syā, *tye*, *tyāḥ*. Similarly (are declined) *tad*, *yad*, *etad*.

vāk, *vācau*, *vāgbhyām*.

āpaḥ, *apaḥ*.

334. In the place of *ap*, when followed by *bh* (7.4.48).

In the place of *ap*, *t* (is substituted) when followed by a case-ending beginning with *bh*. *adbhiḥ*, *adbhyaḥ*, *apām*, *apsu*.

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१ B_1 V इदमो दः इदमो मः; B_2 इदमो दस्य इदमो मः

२ D omitted

३ D स्रजः added after स्रजौ

४ After अप्सु V reads: कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् हश्चेति षः । तस्य जश्त्वेन डः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्य चर्त्वेन पक्षे कः । दिक् ।

दिक् दिशौ[1] दिग्भ्याम् । दृक् दृशौ दृग्भ्याम् ।

त्विट् त्विषौ त्विड्भ्याम् ।

रुत्वम् । सजूः सजुषौ सजूर्भ्याम् । आशीः आशिषौ[2] आशीर्भ्याम् ।

असौ । उत्वमत्वे । अमू अमूः अमूम् अमुया अमूभ्याम् अमूभिः अमुष्यै अमूभ्यः अमुष्याः अमुयोः अमूषाम्[3] अमुष्याम् अमूषु ।

॥ इति हलन्ताः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः[4] ॥

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dik, diśau, digbhyām.

dṛk, dṛśau, dṛgbhyām.

tviṭ, tviṣau tviḍbhyām.

The substitution of *ru* (takes place in the following words). *sajūḥ, sajuṣau, sajūrbhyām. āśīḥ, āśiṣau, āśīrbhyām.*

asau. The substitution of *u* and *m* takes place (and we have) *amū, amūḥ, amūm, amuyā, amūbhyām, amūbhiḥ, amuṣyai, amūbhyaḥ, amuṣyāḥ, amuyoḥ, amūṣām, amuṣyām, amūṣu.*

Thus ends (the section on) *halanta strīliṅga* declesion.

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१ V दिशः after दिशौ

२ B_3 आशिषः after आशिषौ

३ V omitted

४ B_1 इति हलन्तीः ।

स्वमोर्लुक् । दत्वम्[1] । स्वनडुत् स्वनडुही स्वनड्वांहि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं पुंवत् ।

वाः वारी वारि वारा वार्भ्याम् । चत्वारि ।

किम् के कानि । इदम् इमे इमानि ।

ब्रह्म ।

३३५ संबुद्धौ नपुंसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः ॥

हे ब्रह्म हे ब्रह्मन् । ब्रह्मणी ।

अहः अह्नी अहनी अहानि ।

३३६ **अहन्** ॥ ८.२.६८ ॥

(In the case of *svanaḍuh*), there occurs elision of *su* and *am;* and substitution of *d*. (Thus we get) *svanaḍut, svanaḍuhī, svanaḍvāṁhi*. Again like that. The rest like the masculine.

vāḥ, vārī, vāri, vārā, vārbhyām. catvāri.

kim. ke, kāni. idam, ime, imāni.

brahma.

335. When followed by *sambuddhi*, in the case of the neuter (words), the optional elision of *n* should be stated.

he brahma, he brahman, brahmaṇī.

ahaḥ, ahnī, ahanī, ahāni.

336. *Ahan* (8.2.68).

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१ V दत्वम् स्वनडुद् after स्वनडुत्

अहन् इत्यस्य रुः पदान्ते । अहोभ्याम् ।

दण्डि दण्डिनी दण्डीनि[1] ।

तत् ते तानि । यत् ये यानि । एतद्[2] एते एतानि ।

ददत् ददती ।

३३७ वा नपुंसकस्य ॥ ७.१.७९ ॥

अभ्यस्तात् क्लीबात् परस्य शतुर्वा नुम्[3] सर्वनामस्थाने । ददन्ति ददति ।

तुदत् ।

In the case of *ahan, ru* is substituted when at the end of a *pada*. *ahobhyām*.

daṇḍi, daṇḍinī, daṇḍīni.

tat, te, tāni; yat, ye, yāni; etat, ete, etāni.

dadat, dadatī.

337. Optionally in the case of the neuter (7.1.79).

(The augment) *num* is optionally (appended) to *śatṛ* coming after a neuter reduplicate, when followed by *sarvanāmasthāna*. *dadanti, dadati.*

tudat.

---

१ V adds पुनस्तद्वत् after दण्डीनि ।

२ B_1 एतत् एते एतानि repeated once again.

३ V adds स्यात् after नुम्

३३८ आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् ॥ ७.१.८० ॥

अदन्तात् परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य वा[१] नुम् शीनद्योः ।

तुदन्ती तुदती तुदन्ति ।

पचत्[२] ।

३३९ शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम् ॥ ७.१.८१ ॥

शप्श्यनोरात् परो यः शतुरवयवः तदन्तस्य[३] नुम् शीनद्योः[४] । पचन्ती पचन्ति[५] । दीव्यत् दीव्यन्ती दीव्यन्ति[६] ।

338. (The augment) *nùm,* after *a,* when followed by *śī* or *nadī* (7.1.80)

(The augment) *num* (is appended) optionally to the part of *śatṛ,* which comes after (a base) ending in *a,* when followed by *śī, or nadī. tudantī, tudatī, tudanti.*

pacat.

339. After *śap* and *śyan,* obligatory (7.1.81).

(The augment) *num* (is appended) to that which ends in that part of *śatṛ* which comes after the *ā* of *śap* and *śyan*, when it is followed by *śī* or *nadī*. *pacantī, pacanti*. *dīvyat, dīvyantī, dīvyanti.*

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१ B_1 omitted

२ B_2 omitted

३ V नित्यं after °न्तस्य

४ V परत: after °नद्योः

५ V omitted

६ V omitted

धनुः धनुषी[1] धनूंषि । धनुर्भ्याम् । एवं चक्षुर्हविरादयः ।

पयः[2] पयसी पयांसि[3] पयोभ्याम् ।

अदः अमू[4] अमूनि । शेषं पुंवत् ।

इति हलन्तानि क्लीबानि ॥

dhanuḥ, dhanuṣī, dhanūṁṣi, dhanurbhyām. Similarly (are declined) *cakṣuḥ, haviḥ,* etc.

payaḥ, payasī, payāṁsi, payobhyām.

adaḥ, amū, amūni. The rest like the masculine.

Thus ends (the section on) *halanta klība* declension.

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१ After धनुषी V reads सान्तेति दीर्घः । नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेपीति षः ।

२ D omitted

३ D पयसा after पयांसि

४ D omitted

३४० स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् ॥ १.१.३७ ॥

स्वर् अन्तर् प्रातर् सनुतर्[1] उच्चैस् नीचैस् इत्यादि । च वा ह अह एव एवम् नूनम् शश्वत् इत्यादि । आकृतिगणावेतौ ।

३४१ अव्ययादाप्सुपः ॥ २.४.८२ ॥

अव्ययात् विहितस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् । तत्र शालायाम् । अथ ।

सदृशं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु ।
वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

॥ इति अव्ययानि[2] ॥

॥ [3]इति सिद्धान्तसारकौमुद्यां सुबन्तं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

340. *Svar* etc. and the *nipāta* (are designated) *avyaya* (1.1.37).

svar, antar, prātar, etc.; *ca, vā, ha, aha, eva, evam, nūnam, śaśvat,* etc. Both these are *ākṛtigaṇas.*

341. In the place of *āp* and *sup* coming after *avyaya*. (2.4.82).

In the place of (the suffix) *āp,* and the *sup* (case-endings) enjoined in the case of an *avyaya,* elision (is substituted). *tatra, śālāyām; atha.*

That, which is the same in (all) the three genders, and in all the cases, and in all the numbers, (that is) which does not change, is *avyaya* (in the literal sense of the term).

Thus ends (the section on) *avyayas.*

Here ends (the section on) *subanta.*

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१ B_2 omitted

२ B_1 व्ययाय: D adds समाप्तानि after अव्ययानि ।

३ This colophon found only in V.

(अथ तिङन्तम्)

लट् लिट् लुट् लृट् लेट् लोट् लङ् लिङ् लुङ् लृङ् ।

३४२ लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥ ३.४.६९ ॥

लकाराः सकर्मकेभ्यः कर्मणि कर्तरि च स्युः । अकर्मकेभ्यो भावे कर्तरि च ।

३४३ वर्तमाने लट् ॥ ३.२.१२३ ॥

वर्तमानक्रिया[1]वृत्तेर्धातोः लट्[2] । अटावितौ । उच्चारणसाम र्यात् लस्य नेत्त्वम् ।

भू सत्तायाम् । [3]कर्तृविवक्षायां भू ल इति स्थिते ।

laṭ, liṭ, luṭ, lṛṭ, leṭ, loṭ, laṅ, liṅ, luṅ, lṛṅ (are the ten *lakāras*).

342. *l,* in the sense of the object and (the agent); and after intransitive (verbs) in the sense of *bhāva* and (the agent). (3.4.69).

The *lakāras* are appended to transitive (roots) to signify the object as well as the agent. To intransitive (roots, they are appended) in the sense of *bhāva* as well as the agent.

343. In the sense of the present, *laṭ* (3.2.123).

After a root pertaining to a present action, *laṭ* (is appended). (In *laṭ*) *a* and *ṭ* are indicatory; *l* is not indicatory, owing to the fact of its announcement.

√*bhu*=to be. When there is a desire to express the agent, (we get) *bhū la*. In that position,

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१ B_2 वर्तमानार्थवृत्ते°

२ V adds स्यात् after लट्

३ B_2 कर्तरि विव°

३४४ तिप्तस्झि सिप्थस्थ मिब्वस्मस् तातांझ थासाथांध्वम् इड्वहिमहिङ् ॥ ३.४.७८ ॥
एतेऽष्टादश लादेशा: स्यु: ।

३४५ लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ १.४.९९ ॥
[1]लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञाः स्युः[2] ।

३४६ [3]तङानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १.४.१०० ॥
तङ प्रत्याहार: शानच्कानचौ चैतत्संज्ञा: स्यु: । पूर्वसंज्ञापवाद: ।

३४७ अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १.३.१२ ॥
अनुदात्तेत् उपदेशे यो ङित् तदन्ताच्च धातो: लस्थाने आत्मनेपदं स्यात् ।

344. *tip, tas, jhi, sip, thas, tha, mip, vas, mas, ta, ātām, jha, thās, āthām, dhvam, iṭ, vahi, mahiṅ* (3.4.78)

These eighteen are the substitutes of *l*.

345. *l, parasmaipada* (1.4.99).

The substitutes of *l* have the designation *parasmaipada*.

346. *taṅ* and *āna, ātmanepada* (1.4.100).

The (endings in the) *pratyāhāra taṅ, śānac* and *kānac*, have this designation. (This is) an exception to the former designation.

347. After (a root), having *anudātta* indicatory (*svara*) or having an indicatory *ṅ, ātmanepada* (1.3.12).

After a root, that has *anudātta* indicatory *svara* or an indicatory *ṅ* in *upadeśa, ātmanepada* endings are substituted.

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१ B_1 आदेशा:

२ B_1 omitted

३ B_1 This *sūtra* and the comm. thereon omitted

३४८ [1]**स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले** ॥ १.३.७२ ॥
स्वरितेतो ञितश्च धातोरात्मनेपदं कर्तृगामिनि क्रियाफले ।

३४९ [2]**शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम्** ॥ १.३.७८ ॥
आत्मनेपदनिमित्तहीनात् धातोः कर्तरि परस्मैपदं स्यात्[3] ।

३५० **तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः** ॥ १.४.१०१ ॥
तिङ उभयोः पदयोः त्रयस्त्रिकाः क्रमात्[4] एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः ।

348. After (a root), having *svarita* indicatory (*svara*) or having an indicatory *ñ*, when the result of the action is meant for the agent (1.3.72).

After a root, having *svarita* indicatory or an indicatory *ñ*, *ātmanepada* (is substituted for *l*), when the result of the action is (intended) to accrue to the agent.

349. After the rest, *parasmaipada*, in the sense of agent. (1.3.78).

After a root, devoid of the condition for (the substitution of) *ātmanepada*, in the sense of the agent, *parasmaipada* is substituted.

350. The three triads of the *tiṅ* (endings), *prathama, madhyama* and *uttama* (1.4.101).

The three triads of *tiṅ*, of both the *padas*, have these designations respectively.

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१ B_2 The whole *sūtra* and the comm. thereon omitted

२ B_1 This *sūtra* and the comm. thereon omitted

३ V omitted

४ V क्रमतः

३५१ **तान्येकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनान्येकशः** ॥ १.४.१०२ ॥

लब्धप्रथमादिसंज्ञानि तिङस्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रत्येकमेकवचनादिसंज्ञानि स्युः ।

३५२ **युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः** ॥ १.४.१०५ ॥

तिङ्वाच्यकारकवाचिनि युष्मदि अप्रयुज्यमाने प्रयुज्यमाने च मध्यमः ।

३५३ **अस्मद्युत्तमः** ॥ १.४.१०७ ॥

तथाभूते ।

३५४ **शेषे प्रथमः** ॥ १.४.१०८ ॥

भू ति इति जाते ।

351. They, severally, (are designated) *ekavacana, dvivacana* and *bahuvacana* respectively. (1.4.102)

The three triads having received the designations *prathama* etc., severally are designated *ekavacana* etc.

352. When *yuṣmad* is used as *upapada* in agreement or even (when it is so) understood, *madhyama* (1.4.105).

When *yuṣmad*, expressive of the *kāraka* to be expressed by the *tiṅ*, is used or (even when) not used, *madhyama* (endings are used).

353. When *asmad, uttama* (1.4.107).

Under similar conditions.

354. In the rest, *prathama* (1.4.108).

Thus, when (*bhū la*) has become *bhū ti*.

३५५ [1]**तिङ् शित् सार्वधातुकम्** ।। ३.४.११३ ।।

तिङः शितश्च धात्वधिकारोक्ता एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः ।

३५६ **कर्तरि शप्** ।। ३.१.६८ ।।

कर्त्रर्थे सार्वधातुके धातोः शप् ।

३५७ **सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः** ।। ७.३.८४ ।।

अनयोः परयोः[2] इगन्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः । अवादेशः । भवति भवतः ।

३५८ **झोऽन्तः** ।। ७.१.३ ।।

प्रत्ययावयवस्य झस्य अन्तादेशः । अतो गुणे । भवन्ति । भवसि भवथः भवथ ।

355. *tiṅ* and (*pratyayas*) having indicatory *ś* (are designated) *sārvadhātuka*. (3.4.113).

The *tiṅ* endings and the *pratyayas* with indicatory *ś*, that are enjoined in the topic concerning *dhātu*, have this designation.

356. When followed by (a *tiṅ*) signifying agent, *śap* (3.1.68).

When a *sārvadhātuka* (ending) signifying agent follows, to a root, *śap* (is appended).

357. When followed by *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* (7.3.84).

When these follow, *guṇa* is substituted in the place of an *aṅga*, ending in *ik*. Then (takes place) the substitution of *av*. *bhavati, bhavataḥ*.

358. In the place of *jh*, *ant* (7.1.3).

In the place of *jh*, (which forms) part of a *pratyaya*, *ant* is the substitute. (Then applies the rule) *ato guṇe;* (and we have) *bhavanti, bhavasi, bhavathaḥ, bhavatha*.

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१ B_1 *sūtra* omitted

२ V omitted

३५९ अतो दीर्घो यञि ॥ ७.३.१०१ ॥

अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घो यञादौ सार्वधातुके । भवामि भवावः भवामः । सः भवति । तौ भवतः । ते भवन्ति । त्वं भवसि युवां भवथः यूयं भवथ अहं भवामि आवां भवावः वयं भवामः ।

३६० परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ३.२.११५ ॥

भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षार्थवृत्तेः धातोः लिट् स्यात्[1] । लस्य तिबादयः ।

३६१ परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः ॥ ३.४.८२ ॥

लिटस्तिबादीनां णलादयः[2] स्युः । भू अ इति स्थिते ।

359. In the place of *at*, a long (vowel), when followed by *yañ*. (7.3.101).

In the place of a base (ending in) *at*, a long (vowel is substituted), when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* (ending) beginning with a (letter of the *pratyāhāra*) *yañ*. *bhavāmi, bhavāvaḥ, bhavāmaḥ. saḥ bhavati, tau bhavataḥ, te bhavanti,* etc. etc.

360. In the sense of *parokṣa, liṭ* (3.2.115).

After a root employed to signify a matter of the past, not of today, and not seen (by the agent), *liṭ* is appended. In the place of *l*, *tip* etc. (are substituted).

361. In the place of the *parasmaipada* (endings), *ṇal, atus, us, thal, athus, a, ṇal, va* and *ma* (3.4.82).

In the place of *tip* etc. of *liṭ* are substituted *ṇal* etc. Thus (we get) *bhu a;* in this position.

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१ D omitted

२ B_2 °दयो नव स्युः

३६२ भुवो वुक् लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ६.४.८८ ॥
अचि ।

३६३ लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य ॥ ६.१.८ ॥

लिटि परे अनभ्यासस्य[१] धात्ववयवस्य एकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे स्तः। आदिभूतादचः परस्य तु द्वितीयस्य । भूव्भूव् अ इति स्थिते ।

३६४ पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ६.१.४ ॥
अत्र ये द्वे तयोः ।

३६५ हलादिः शेषः ॥ ७.४.६० ॥
अभ्यासस्य आदिर्हल् शिष्यते[२] ।

362. In the case of $\sqrt{}$*bhū, vuk,* when followed by *luṅ* or *liṭ*. (6.4.88).

When followed by (*luṅ* and *liṭ* beginning with) a vowel.

363. When followed by *liṭ,* in the case of a root other than *abhyāsa* (6.1.8).

When followed by *liṭ,* in the place of the first monosyllabic part of a root other than *abhyāsa,* two are substituted. However, in the place of the second part, coming after a vowel standing at the beginning. Thus when the position becomes, *bhūvbhūv a,*

364. The former (is designated) *abhyāsa* (6.1.4).

(The former) of the two that are here.

365. The first *hal, śeṣa* (7.4.60).

The first consonant of the *abhyāsa* remains.

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१ B_2 °भ्यासधात्व°

२ V adds अन्ये हलो लुप्यन्ते after शिष्यते ।

३६६ ह्रस्वः ॥ ७.४.५९ ॥
अभ्यासस्याचः ।

३६७ भवतेरः ॥ ७.४.७३ ॥
भवतेरभ्यासोकारस्य अः स्यात् लिटि ।

३६८ अभ्यासे चर्च ॥ ८.४.५४ ॥
अभ्यासे झलां चरः स्युः जशश्च । झशां[1] जशः खयां चर इति विवेकः । बभूव बभूवतुः बभूवुः ।

३६९ लिट् च ॥ ३.४.११५ ॥
लिडादेशस्तिङ् आर्धधातुकः[2] ।

366. A short (vowel). (7.4.59).

In the place of the vowel of the *abhyāsa*.

367. In the place of √*bhū, a* (7.4.73).

In the place of the letter *u* belonging to the *abhyāsa* of √*bhū, a* is substituted, when followed by *liṭ*.

368. In the *abhyāsa, car* also (8.4.54).

In the place of the (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *jhal* in the *abhyāsa*, (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *car* are substituted, and (letters of the *pratyāhāra*) *jaś*. The specification is *jaś* (letters) in the place of *jhaś* (letters) and *car* (letters) in the place of *khay* (letters). (Thus we get) *babhūva, babhūvatuḥ, babhūvuḥ*.

369. And *liṭ* (3.4.115).

tiṅ, which is the substitute in the place of *liṭ*, is (designated) *ārdhadhātuka*.

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१ B_3 झलां
२ V °तुकसंज्ञः

३७० आर्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेः ॥ ७.२.३५ ॥

बभूविथ बभूवथुः बभूव बभूव बभूविव बभूविम ।

३७१ अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ ३.३.१५ ॥

भविष्यति अनद्यतनेऽर्थे धातोर्लुट् ।

३७२ स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३.१.३३ ॥

धातोरेतौ स्तो लृलुटोः परतः । शबाद्यपवादः । लृ इति लृङ्लृटोर्ग्रहणम्[१] ।

३७३ आर्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ३.४.११४ ॥

तिङ्शिद्भ्योऽन्यो धातोः इति विहितः[२] प्रत्यय एतत्संज्ञः । इट् ।

370. In the case of an *ārdhadhātuka* (ending), beginning with a *val*, *iṭ* (7.2.35).

babhūvitha, babhūvathuḥ, babhūva, babhūva, babhūviva, babhūvima.

371. In the sense of (future) not of today, *luṭ* (3.3.15).

In the sense of a matter of the future, not of today, after a root, *luṭ* (is appended).

372. *sya* and *tāsi*, when followed by *lṛ* and *luṭ* (3.1.33).

In the case of a root, these two are appended, when *lṛ* (i.e. *lṛṭ* and *lṛṅ*) and *luṭ* follow. (This is) an exception to the *śap* etc. By *lṛ*, both *lṛṅ* and *lṛṭ* are to be understood.

373. The rest, *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114).

A *pratyaya*, enjoined under the *adhikāra*, *dhātoḥ*, other than the *tiṅ* and those with indicatory *ś*, have this designation. (The augment) *iṭ* (is appended).

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१ B_1, D This sentence omitted

२ D °तप्रत्यया एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः

३७४ लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः ॥ २,४.८५ ॥

३७५ टेः ॥ ६.४.१४३ ॥

भस्य लोपो डिति। डित्वसामर्थ्यात् अभस्यापि टेर्लोपः। भविता।

२७६ [1]तासस्त्योर्लोपः ॥ ७.४.५० ॥

सादौ प्रत्यये परे।

३७७ रि च ॥ ७.४.५१ ॥

रादौ प्रत्यये तथा। भवितारौ भवितारः भवितासि भवितास्थः भवितास्थ भवितास्मि भवितास्वः भवितास्मः।

374. In the place of the *prathama* (endings) of *luṭ*, *ḍā*, *rau*, *ras*. (2.4.85)

375. In the place of *ṭi* (6.4.143).

Of *bha*, elision is substituted, when followed by a *pratyaya*, having an indicatory *ḍ*. By the force of (the affix *ḍā*) having indicatory *ḍ*, elision of the *ṭi*, of even that which is not *bha*, takes place. (Hence we get) *bhavitā*.

376. In the place of *tās* and *as*, elision. (7.4.50).

When followed by a *pratyaya* beginning with *s*.

377. And when followed by *r* (7.4.51).

The same, when followed by a *pratyaya*, beginning with *r*. (Thus we have) *bhavitārau*, *bhavitāraḥ*, *bhavitāsi*, *bhavitāsthaḥ*, *bhavitāstha*, *bhavitāsmi*, *bhavitāsvaḥ*, *bhavitāsmaḥ*.

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१ B_1 From here upto प्रत्यये तथा। omitted

२ B_1 omitted

३७८ लृट् शेषे च ॥ ३.३.१३ ॥

भविष्यत्यर्थात् धातोः लृट् क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामसत्यां सत्यां च। स्यः। इट्। भविष्यति भविष्यतः भविष्यन्ति भविष्यसि[१] भविष्यथः भविष्यथ भविष्यामि भविष्यावः भविष्यामः।

३७९ लोट् च ॥ ३.३.१६२ ॥

विध्याद्यर्थेषु धातोर्लोट्।

३८० [२]आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ ३.३.१७३ ॥

३८१ एरुः ॥ ३.४.८६ ॥

लोट इकारस्य उः। भवतु।

378. And in the remaining cases, *lṛṭ* (3.3.13).

After a root used to signify a matter of the future, *lṛṭ* is appended, whether there is or is not another verb (denoting an action performed) for the sake of the (future) action. (The affix) *sya* and (the augment) *iṭ* (are appended and then we have) *bhaviṣyati, bhaviṣyataḥ, bhaviṣyanti, bhaviṣyasi, bhaviṣyathaḥ, bhaviṣyatha, bhaviṣyāmi, bhaviṣyāvaḥ, bhaviṣyāmaḥ.*

379. And *loṭ* (3.3.162)

In the senses of *vidhi* etc., after a root, *loṭ* is appended.

380. In the sense of benediction, *liṅ* and *loṭ* (3.3.173).

381. In the place of *i*, *u* (3.4.86).

In the place of the letter *i* belonging to *loṭ*, *u* (is substituted). *bhavatu*.

---

१ B_2 omitted

२ B_2 From here upto आशिषि omitted

३८२ **तुह्योस्तातङ् आशिष्यन्यतरस्याम्** ॥ ७.१.३५ ॥
आशिषि तुह्योस्तातङ् वा । परत्वात् सर्वादेशः । भवतात् ।

३८३ **लोटो लङ्वत्** ॥ ३.४.८५ ॥
लोटस्तामादयः । सलोपश्च ।

३८४ **तस्थस्थमिपां तांतंतामः** ॥ ३.४.१०१ ॥
ङितश्चतुर्णां तामादयः स्युः । भवताम् भवन्तु ।

३८५ **सेर्ह्यपिच्च** ॥ ३.४.८७ ॥
लोटः सेर्हिः । सोऽपिच्च ।

३८६ **अतो हेः** ॥ ६.४.१०५ ॥
लुक् । भव[1] भवतात् भवतम् भवत ।

382. In the place of *tu* and *hi*, *tātaṅ*, in the sense of benediction, optionally. (7.1.35).

In the sense of benediction, in the place of *tu* and *hi*, *tātaṅ* is optionally (substituted). On the strength of posteriority, (this) is a substitute of the whole. *bhavatāt*.

383. In the case of *loṭ*, like *laṅ* (3.4.85).

In the place of *loṭ*, *tām* etc. (are substituted); and *s* is elided.

384. In the place of *tas*, *thas*, *tha*, and *mip*, *tām*, *tam*, *ta* and *am* (3.4.101).

In the case of the four (*lakāras*), having indicatory *ṅ*, *tām* etc. are (substituted). *bhavatām*, *bhavantu*.

385. In the place of *si*, *hi*, and *apit* (3.4.87).

In the case of *loṭ*, in the place of *si*, *hi* (is substituted). And it is *apit*.

386. After *at*, in the place of *hi* (6.4.105).

elision (is substituted). *bhava*, *bhavatāt*, *bhavatam*, *bhavata*.

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१ B_2 omitted

३८७ मेर्निः ॥ ३.४.८९ ॥
लोटः ।

३८८ आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥ ३.४.९२ ॥
[१]लोडुत्तमस्य आट् । स पिच्च । हिन्योरुत्वं न । इत्वोच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । भवानि ।

३८९ नित्यं ङितः ॥ ३.४.९९ ॥
सकारान्तस्य ङिदुत्तमस्य लोपः[२] । भवाव भवाम ।

३९० अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ ३.२.१११ ॥
अनद्यतनभूतार्थ[३]वृत्तेर्धातोर्लङ् ।

387. In the place of *mi*, *ni* (3.4.89).
In the case of *loṭ*.

388. In the case of the *uttama* (ending), *āṭ*; and *pit* (3.4.92).
In the case of the *uttama* (endings) of *loṭ*, (the augment) *āṭ* (is appended). And it is *pit*. In the place of *hi* and *ni*, *u* is not substituted, owing to the force of the announcement of *i* (in them). *bhavāni*.

389. Obligatory, in the case of (*lakāra*), having indicatory *ṅ*. (3.4.99).
In the place of the *uttama* ending of a *lakāra* with indicatory *ṅ*, ending in the letter *s*, elision (is substituted). *bhavāva*, *bhavāma*.

390. In the sense of (the past), not of today, *laṅ* (3.2.111).
After a root, employed to signify a matter of the past, not of today, *laṅ* (is appended).

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१ B_1 From here upto पिच्च omitted

२ V नित्यं added before लोपः

३ B_2 °र्थं°

३९१ **लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः** ॥ ६.४.७१ ॥
एष्वङ्गस्याट् ।

३९२ **इतश्च** ॥ ३.४.१०० ॥
ङितो लस्य परस्मैपदमिकारान्तं यत् तस्य लोपः । [1]अभवत् अभवताम् अभवन् अभवः अभवतम् अभवत अभवम् अभवाव अभवाम ।

३९३ **विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसम्प्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ्** ॥ ३.३.१६१ ॥
एष्वर्थेषु धातोर्लिङ् ।

३९४ **यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङित् च** ॥ ३.४.१०३ ॥
लिङः परस्मैपदानां यासुडागमो[2] ङिच्च ।

391. In the case of *luṅ, laṅ* and *lṛṅ, aṭ, udātta* (6.4.71).

In these (*lakāras*), the *aṅga* has the *augment aṭ* (appended to it).

392. Of *it* also (3.4.100)

In the case of a *lakāra* with indicatory *ṅ*, elision (is substituted) in the place of that which is *parasmaipada* and which ends in *i*. *abhavat, abhavatām, abhavan, abhavaḥ, abhavatam, abhavata, abhavam, abhavāva, abhavāma*.

393. In the senses of command, directing, inviting, expression of wish, enquiring and asking for, *liṅ*. (3.3.161)

In these senses, to a root, *liṅ* (is appended).

394. In the *parasmaipada* endings, *yāsuṭ, udātta* and with indicatory *ṅ* (3.4.103).

In the case of *parasmaipada* (endings) of the *liṅ*, the *augment yāsuṭ* is appended, (and it is) *ṅit*.

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१ B_1 From here upto अभवः omitted

२ B_1 सो after °गमो

३९५ **लिङः सलोपोऽनन्त्यस्य ॥ ७.२.७९ ॥**
सार्वधातुकलिङोऽनन्त्यस्य सस्य लोपः । इति प्राप्ते ।

३९६ **अतो येयः ॥ ७.२.८० ॥**
अतः परस्य सार्वधातुकावयवस्य या इत्यस्य इय् । गुणः ।

३९७ **लोपो व्योर्वलि ॥ ६.१.६५ ॥**
भवेत् भवेताम् ।

३९८ **झेर्जुस् ॥ ३.४.१०८ ॥**
लिङः । भवेयुः भवेः भवेतम् भवेत भवेयम् भवेव भवेम ।

३९९ [१]**लिङाशिषि ॥ ३.४.११६ ॥**
आशिषि लिङस्तिङार्धधातुकसंज्ञः ।

395. In the case of *liṅ*, in the place of not final *s*, elision. (7.2.79)

In the case of the *sārvadhātuka liṅ*, in the place of the not final *s*, elision is substituted. In this position,

396. In the place of *yā* coming after *at*, *iy* (7.2.80).

In the place of the *yā*, a part of the *sārvadhātuka* (ending), coming after *at*, *iy* (is substituted). Then, *guṇa* (takes place).

397. In the place of *v* and *y*, elision, when followed by *val*. (6.1.65)

bhavet, bhavetām.

398. In the place of *jhi*, *jus* (3.4.108).

In the case of *liṅ*. *bhaveyuḥ, bhaveḥ, bhavetam, bhaveta, bhaveyam, bhaveva, bhavema.*

399. In the sense of benediction, *liṅ* (3.4.116).

The *tiṅ*, belonging to the *liṅ* in the sense of benediction, is designated *ārdhadhātuka*.

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१ B_2 This *sūtra* omitted

४०० **किदाशिषि** ॥ ३.४.१०४ ॥
आशिषि लिङो यासुट् कित् । सलोपः ।

४०१ [१]**क्ङिति च** ॥ १.१.५ ॥

गित्किन्ङिन्निमित्ते इग्लक्षणे गुणवृद्धी न स्तः । भूयात् भूयास्ताम् भूयासुः । भूयाः भूयास्तम् भूयास्त भूयासम् भूयास्व भूयास्म ।

४०२ **लुङ्** ॥ ३.२.११० ॥
भूतार्थे धातोः ।

४०३ **च्लि लुङि** ॥ ३.१.४३ ॥
शबाद्यपवादः ।

400. In the sense of benediction, having indicatory *k*. (3.4.104).

(The augment) *yāsuṭ* of the *liṅ* in the sense of benediction is (to be considered) as having an indicatory *k*. Then (takes place) the elision of *s*.

401. And when followed by what has indicatory *k*, *g*, or *ṅ*. (1.1.5)

The *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi*, indicated by *ik*, are not (substituted), when the cause (thereof) has an indicatory *k* or *g* or *ṅ*. *bhūyāt*, *bhūyāstām*, *bhūyāsuḥ*, *bhūyāḥ*, *bhuyāstam*, *bhuyāsta*, *bhūyāsam*, *bhūyāsva*, *bhūyāsma*.

402. *luṅ* (3.2.110).

(is appended) after a root (employed) to convey a matter of the past.

403. In the case of *luṅ*, *cli* (3.1.43).

(This is) an exception to *śap* etc.

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१ B_2 This *sūtra* omitted

४०४ च्लेः सिच् ॥ ३.१.४४ ॥

४०५ गातिस्थाघुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ २.४.७७ ॥

लुक्।

४०६ भूसुवोस्तिङि ॥ ७.३.८८ ॥

भूसू एतयोः सार्वधातुके तिङि गुणो न। अभूत् अभूताम् अभूवन् अभूः अभूतम् अभूत अभूवम् अभूव अभूम।

४०७ लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ ३.३.१३९ ॥

हेतुहेतुमद्भावादि लिङ्निमित्तम्। तत्र भविष्य[1]दर्थे धातोर्लृङ्। क्रियाया अनिष्पत्तौ गम्यायाम्[2]। अभविष्यत् अभविष्यताम् अभविष्यन्।

404. In the place of *cli, sic* (3.1.44).

405. In the case of *gāti, sthā, ghu, pā* and *bhū,* in the place of *sic*, when *parasmaipada* endings follow. (2.4.77)

Elision (is substituted).

406. In the place of √*bhū* and √*sū,* when followed by *tiṅ,* (7.3.88)

In the place of (the roots) *bhū* and *sū*, when followed by a *sārvadhātuka tiṅ, guṇa* is not (substituted). *abhūt, abhūtām, abhūvan, abhūḥ, abhūtam, abhūta, abhūvam, abhūva, abhūma.*

407. When there is an occasion for *liṅ, lṛṅ,* in the sense of non-completion of an action (3.3.139).

The relation of cause and effect, etc. (is) the occasion for (affixing) *liṅ*. When it is there, after a root employed in the sense of a matter of the future, *lṛṅ* (is affixed), when the non-completion of the action is implied. *abhaviṣyat, abhaviṣyatām,*

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१ B_1 °ष्यत्यर्थे

२ V ग यमानायाम्

अभविष्यः अभविष्यतम् अभविष्यत अभविष्यम् अभविष्याव अभविष्याम । सुवृष्टिश्चेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् । इत्यादि ज्ञेयम् ।

अत सातत्यगमने । अतति[१] ।

४०८ अत आदेः ॥ ७.४.७० ॥

अभ्यासस्यादेरतो दीर्घः । आत आततुः आतुः आतिथ आतथुः आत आत आतिव आतिम । अतिता अतिष्यति अततु ।

४०९ आडजादीनाम् ॥ ६.४.७२ ॥

अजादेरङ्गस्य आट् लुङ्[२]लङ्लृङ्क्षु । आतत् अतेत् अत्यात् अत्यास्ताम् । लुङि सिचि इडागमे कृते ।

abhaviṣyan, abhaviṣyaḥ, abhaviṣyatam, abhaviṣyata, abhaviṣyam, abhaviṣyāva, abhaviṣyāma. suvṛṣṭiś ced abhaviṣyat tadā subhikṣam abhaviṣyat, and such other illustrations should be understood.

√*at* = to go constantly. *atati.*

408. In the place of the initial *at* (7.4.70).

In the place of a short *a,* at the beginning of *abhyāsa.* long (vowel is substituted). *āta, ātatuḥ, ātuḥ, ātitha, ātathuḥ, āta, āta, ātiva, ātima, atitā, atiṣyati, atatu.*

409. *āṭ* in the case of (roots) beginning with a vowel. (6.4. 72).

In the case of an *aṅga,* beginning with a vowel, (the augment) *āṭ* (is appended), when followed by *luṅ, laṅ* or *lṛṅ. ātat, atet, atyāt, atyāstām.* After *luṅ* is affixed, *sic* is appended, and (the augment) *i* is attached,

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१ V adds अततः अतन्ति अतसि अतथः अतथ अतामि अतावः अतामः ।

२ V लङ्लुङ्°

४१० अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते ॥ ७.३.९६ ॥

विद्यमानात् सिचोऽस्तेश्च परस्य अपृक्तस्य हल ईट्[१] ।

४११ इट ईटि ॥ ८.२.२८ ॥

सस्य लोपः ।

४१२ सिज्लोप एकादेशे सिद्धो वाच्यः ॥

आतीत् आतिष्टाम् ।

४१३ सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥ ३.४.१०९ ॥

सिचोऽभ्यस्तात् विदेश्च परस्य ङित्सम्बन्धिनो झेर्जुस् । आतिषुः आतीः आतिष्ठम् आतिष्ठ आतिषम् आतिष्व आतिष्म । आतिष्यत् ।

गद व्यक्तायां वाचि । गदति ।

410. In the case of a single (consonant), coming after √*as* or after *sic* (7.3.96)

In the case of a single consonant, coming after an existing *sic* or after *asti* (= √*as*), (the augment) *ī* is appended.

411. After *iṭ*, when followed by *īṭ* (8.2.28).

In the place of *s* elision is (substituted).

412. It should be stated that the elision of *sic* is recognized as having taken place, in the case when a single substitute is made.

ātīt, ātiṣṭām.

413. And after *sic*, *abhyasta* and √*vid* (3.4.109).

In the place of *jhi*, belonging to a *lakāra* having an indicatory *ṅ*, coming after *sic*, *abhyasta*, and √*vid*, *jus* (is substituted). *ātiṣuḥ, ātīḥ, ātiṣṭham, ātiṣṭha, ātiṣam, ātiṣva, ātiṣma. ātiṣyat.*

√*gad* = to speak articulately. *gadati.*

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१ V ईडागमः

४१४ कुहोश्चुः ॥ ७.४.६२ ॥

अभ्यासकवर्गहकारयोश्चवर्गादेशः ।

४१५ अत उपधायाः ॥ ७.२.११६ ॥

वृद्धिः ञ्णिति णिति च प्रत्यये । जगाद जगदतुः[1] जगदुः जगदिथः जगदथुः जगद ।

४१६ णलुत्तमो वा ॥ ७.१.९१ ॥

[2]णित् स्यात् । जगाद जगद जगदिव जगदिम । गदिता । गदिष्यति । गदतु । अगदत् । गदेत् । गद्यात् ।

414. In the place of *ku* and *h*, *cu* (7.4.62).

In the place of *kavarga* and the letter *h*, belonging to the *abhyāsa*, *cavarga* is substituted.

415. In the place of penultimate *at* (7.2.116).

vṛddhi (is substituted) when followed by a *pratyaya* having indicatory *ñ* or *ṇ*. *jagāda, jagadatuḥ, jagaduḥ, jagaditha, jagadathuḥ, jagada*.

416. *ṇal* (of the) *uttama*, optionally (7.1.91),

is (to be considered) as having indicatory *ṇ*. *jagāda, jagada, jagadiva, jagadima, gaditā, gadiṣyati, gadatu, agadat, gadet, gadyāt*.

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१ B_1 D omitted

२ D उत्तमो before णित°

४१७ **अतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ ७.२.७ ॥**

हलादेर्लघोरतो वृद्धिर्वेडादौ परस्मैपदे सिचि। अगादीत् अगदीत्। अगदिष्यत्।

गुपू रक्षणे।

४१८ **गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्य आयः ॥ ३.१.२८ ॥**

स्वार्थे।

४१९ **सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३.१.३२ ॥**

सनादयः कमेर्णिङन्ताः प्रत्यया अन्ते येषां ते धातुसंज्ञाः[1]। धातुत्वाल्लडादयः।

४२० **ह्रस्वं लघु ॥ १.४.१० ॥**

417. In the place of *laghu a,* preceded by a consonant (7.2.7).

In the place of a *laghu a* preceded by a consonant, *vṛddhi* (is substituted) optionally, when followed by *sic* and *parasmaipada* endings preceded by (the augment) *i. agādit, agadīt, agadiṣyat.*

√*gup* = to protect.

418. After (the roots) *gup, dhūp, vicch, paṇ,* and *pan, āya.* (3.1.28).

In their original sense.

419. Those which have *san* etc. at their end (are designated) *dhātus* (3.1.32).

Those (bases), that have at their end, the *pratyayas* beginning with *san* (in 3.1.5) and ending with (*kamer*) *ṇiṅ* (3.1.30), are designated *dhātu*. Because they are *dhātus, laṭ* etc. (are appended to them)

420. Short is *laghu* (1.4.10).

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१ V °ज्ञकाः

४२१ **सयोगे गुरु** ॥ १.४.११ ॥
संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं गुरु ।

४२२ **दीर्घं च** ॥ १.४.१२ ॥
गुरु ।

४२३ **पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च** ॥ ७.३.८६ ॥
पुगन्तस्य लघूपधस्य चाङ्गस्येको गुणः सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः । **गोपायति** ।

४२४ **आयादय आर्धधातुके वा** ॥ ३.१.३१ ॥
आर्धधातुकविवक्षायामायेयङणिङो वा स्युः ।

४२५ **कास्यनेकाच आम् वक्तव्यः** ॥
लिटि[१] । कास आम्विधानान्मस्य नेत्त्वम् ।

421. When followed by a conjunct consonant, *guru* (1.4.11).
When followed by a conjunct consonant, a short (syllable) becomes *guru*.

422. And long (1.4.12).
guru.

423. In the case of (a base) having *laghu* penultimate and ending in *puk* (7.3.86)
In the place of *ik*, belonging to a base ending in *puk* (=*p*) and of (a base) having a *laghu* penultimate, *guṇa* is substituted, when followed by *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* (*pratyayas*). *gopāyati*.

424. *āya* etc., in the case of *ārdhadhātuka* optionally (3.1.31).
When *ārdhadhātuka* is intended to be stated, *āya, iyaṅ*, and *ṇin* are optionally appended.

425. In the case of √*kās* and of roots of more syllables than one, (the *pratyaya*) *ām* should be stated, when followed by *liṭ*.
Owing to the enjoining of *ām* in the case of √*kās*, *m* (in *ām*) is not indicatory.

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१ V omitted

४२६ **अतो लोपः** ।। ६.४.४८ ।।

आर्धधातुकोपदेशे यद्ददन्तं तस्यातो लोप आर्धधातुके ।

४२७ **आमः** ।। २.४.८१ ।।

आमः परस्य लुक् ।

४२८ [1]**कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि** ।। ३.१.४० ।।

आमन्ताल्लिट्पराः कृभ्वस्तयोऽनुप्रयुज्यन्ते । तेषां द्वित्वादि ।

४२९ **उरत्** ।। ७.४.६६ ।।

अभ्यासस्य ऋतोऽत् प्रत्यये । वृद्धिः । गोपायाञ्चकार[2] । द्वित्वात् परत्वात् यणि प्राप्ते ।

426. In the place of *at,* elision (6.4.48).

In the place of the *a* (short of that, which ends in *a,* when the *ārdhadhātuka* affix is enjoined, elision (is substituted) when followed by an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

427. After *ām* (2.4.81).

In the place of what comes after *ām,* elision (is substituted).

428. And *kṛñ* is used when followed by *liṭ*. (3.1.40).

After what ends in *ām,* $\sqrt{}$*kṛ*, $\sqrt{}$*bhū* and $\sqrt{}$*as* with *liṭ* after them are used. The reduplication etc. takes place in them.

429. In the place of *ṛ, at* (7.4.66).

In the place of *ṛ* (short), belonging to the *abhyāsa, at* (is substituted), when followed by a *pratyaya*. Then (this *a*) undergoes *vṛddhi. gopāyāñcakāra.* When because of posteriority to (the rule enjoining) reduplication, *yaṇ* becomes imminent,

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१ B_2 कृञोनु॰

२ After this D reads गोपायांचकृव गोपायांचकृम गोपायाम्बभूव गोपायामास जुगोप असंयोगाल्लिट् कित् । असंयोत् परोपिल्लिट् कित् । स्यात् । जुगुपतुः जगुपुः । and from द्वित्वात् परत्वा u to जगोप (जुगुपतु) is omitted

४३० **द्विर्वचनेऽचि ॥ १.१.५९ ॥**

द्वित्वनिमित्तेऽचि[१] अच आदेशो न द्वित्वे कर्तव्ये[२]। गोपायाञ्चक्रतुः। गोपायाञ्चक्रुः।

४३१ **एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात् ॥ ७.२.१० ॥**

उपदेशे यो धातुरेकाजनुदात्तश्च तत आर्धधातुकस्य इण् न।

ऊदॄदन्तैर्यौतिरुक्ष्णुशीस्नुनुक्षुश्विडीङ्श्रिभिः।
वृङ्वृञ्भ्यां च विनैकाचोऽजन्तेषु निहताः स्मृताः॥

430. When followed by a vowel (causing) reduplication (1.1.59).

When followed by a vowel (which is) the cause of reduplication, in the place of *ac*, a substitute is not (placed), when (as yet) reduplication is to be effected. *gopāyāṁcakratuḥ, gopāyāṁcakruḥ*.

431. After (a root) that is monosyllabic and is *anudātta* in the original enunciation. (7.2.10).

The augment *iṭ* is not appended to the *ārdhadhātuka* (*pratyaya*), which comes after a root, which in the original enunciation is monosyllabic and *anudātta*.

With the exception of roots ending in *ū* and *ṝ* and the roots *yu, ru, kṣṇu, śī, snu, nu, kṣu, śvi, ḍīṅ, śri, vṛṅ* and *vṛñ*, all monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel are declared to be *nihata* (= *anudātta*).

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१ D °चि परे

२ V adds असंयोगाल्लिट् कित्। असंयोगात् परोऽपिल्लिट् कित् स्यात्।

कान्तेषु शक्लृ एकः। चान्तेषु पच्मुच्रिच्वच्विच्सिचः षट्। छान्तेषु प्रच्छेकः। जान्तेषु त्यज्निजिर्भज्भञ्ज्भुज्भ्रस्ज्मस्ज्यज्युज्रुज्रञ्ज्विजिर्स्वञ्ज्सञ्ज्सृजः पञ्चदश। दान्तेषु अद् क्षुद् खिद् छिद् तुद्नुद्पद्यभिद्विद्यविनद् विन्द् शद् सद्स्विद्य स्कन्द् हदः षोडश। धान्तेषु क्रुध् क्षुध् बुध्य बन्ध् युध् रुध् राध् व्यध् शुध् साध् सिध्या एकादश। नान्तेषु मन्यहनौ द्वौ। पान्तेषु आप् क्षिप् छुप् तप् तिप् तृप्य दृप्य लिप् लुप् वप् शप् स्वप् सृपस्त्रयोदश। भान्तेषु यभ्रभ्लभस्त्रयः। मान्तेषु गम्यम्नम्रमश्चत्वारः। शान्तेषु क्रुश् दंश् दिश् दृश् मृश् रिश् रुश् लिश् विश्स्पृशो दश। षान्तेषु कृष् त्विष् तुष् द्विष् दुष् पुष्य पिष् विष् शिष् शुष् श्लिष एकादश। सान्तेषु घस्वसती द्वौ। हान्तेषु दह्

Among (monosyllabic *anudātta* roots) ending in a consonant, (the following) 103 roots are *anudātta*: (among roots) ending in *k*, (only) one, namely *śakḷ;* among (those) ending in *c*, six: *pac, muc, ric, vac, vic* and *sic;* among (those) ending in *ch* (only) one: *pracch*; among (those) ending in *j*, fifteen: *tyaj, nijir, bhaj, bhañj, bhuj, bhrasj, masj, yaj, yuj, ruj, rañj, vijir, svañji, sañj* and *sṛj;* among (those) ending in *d*, sixteen: *ad, kṣud, khid, chid, tud, nud, padya, bhid, vidya, vinad, vind, śad, sad, svidya, skand, had;* among (those) ending in *dh*, eleven: *krudh, kṣudh, budhya, bandh, yudh, rudh, rādh, vyadh, śudh, sādh, sidhya;* among (those) ending in *n*, two: *manya, han;* among those ending in *p*, thirteen: *āp, kṣip, chup, tap, tip, tṛpya, ḍṛpya, lip, lup, vap, śap, swap, sṛp;* among (those) ending in *bh*, three: *yabh, rabh, labh;* among (those) ending in *m*, four: *gam, yam, nam, ram;* among (those) ending in *ś*, ten: *kruś, daṁś, diś, dṛś, mṛs, riś, ruś, liś, viś, spṛś;* among those in in *ṣ*, eleven: *kṛṣ, tviṣ, tuṣ, dviṣ, duṣ, puṣya, piṣ, viṣ, śiṣ, śuṣ, śliṣ;* among (those) ending in *s* two: *ghas* and

दिह् दुह् नह् मिह् रुह् लिह् वहोऽष्टौ ।
अनुदात्ता हलन्तेषु धातवस्त्र्यधिकं शतम् ॥

गोपायांचकर्थ गोपायांचक्रथुः गोपायांचक्र गोपायांचकार गोपायांचकर गोपायांचकृव गोपायांचकृम । गोपायांबभूव गोपायामास[1] जुगोप ।

४३२ [2]**असंयोगात्लिट् कित्** ॥ १.२.५ ॥

असंयोगात् परोऽपिल्लिट् कित् स्यात् । जुगुपतुः जुगुपुः ।

४३३ **स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञूदितो वा** ॥ ७.२.४४ ॥

स्वरत्यादेरूदितश्च परस्य वलादेरार्धधातुकस्य इड् वा । जुगोपिथ जुगोप्थ । गोपायिता गोपिता गोप्ता । गोपायिष्यति गोपिष्यति गोप्स्यति गोपायतु । अगोपायत् । गोपायेत् । गोपाय्यात् गुप्यात् । अगोपायीत् ।

vas; among (those) ending in *h,* eight; *dah, dih, duh, nah, mih, ruh, lih, vah. gopāyāṁcakartha, gopāyāṁcakrathuḥ, gopāyāṁcakra, gopāyaṁcakāra, gopāyāṁcakara, gopāyāṁcakṛva, gopāyāṁcakṛma; gopāyāmbabhūva, gopāyāmāsa; jugopa.*

432. After a not conjunct consonant, *liṭ, kit* (1.2.5).

A *liṭ,* that has not an indicatory *p,* coming after a (not conjunct) single consonant, is (considered to be) *kit.* (*jugupatuḥ, jugupuḥ*)

433. After the roots *svṛ, sū, sūya, dhū* and roots with indicatory *ū,* optionally (7.2.44).

In the case of *ārdhadhātuka pratyaya* beginning with *val* coming after *svṛ* and other roots, or a root having an indicatory *ū,* (the augment) *iṭ* is optionally (appended). *jugopitha, jugoptha; gopāyitā, gopitā, goptā; gopāyiṣyati, gopiṣyati, gopsyati; gopāyatu; agopāyat; gopāyet; gopāyyāt; gupyāt; agopāyīt.*

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१ V omitted

२ V reads this *sūtra* and the comn. thereon after द्वित्वे कर्तव्ये above. See note 2 on p. 131.

४३४ वदव्रजहलन्तस्याचः ॥ ७.२.३ ॥

एषामचो वृद्धिः सिचि परस्मैपदेषु । इति प्राप्ते ।

४३५ नेटि ७.२.४ ॥

इडादौ सिचि हलन्तस्य वृद्धिर्न । अगोपीत् अगौप्सीत् ।

४३६ झलो झलि ॥ ८.२.२६ ॥

झलः परस्य सस्य लोपो झलि । अगौप्ताम् अगौप्सुः भागौप्सीः अगौप्तम् अगौप्त अगौप्सम् अगौप्स्व अगौप्स्म । अगोपायिष्यत् अगोपिष्यत् अगोप्स्यत् ।

क्षि क्षये । क्षयति चिक्षाय चिक्षियतुः चिक्षियुः । एकाच इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ।

434. In the place of the vowel belonging to the roots *vad, vraj,* and roots ending in a consonant (7.2.3).

In the place of the vowel belonging to these (roots), *vṛddhi* (is substituted), when followed by *sic,* (and) *parasmaipada* (endings). In this position.

435. Not, when followed by *iṭ* (7.2.4).

vṛddhi is not (substituted) in the place of (a base) ending in a consonant, when followed by *sic* preceeded by *iṭ*. *agopīt, agaupsīt*.

436. After *jhal,* when followed by *jhal*. (8.2.26).

In the place of *s,* coming after a *jhal,* elision (is substituted) when followed by a *jhal*. *agauptām, agaupsuḥ, agaupsūḥ, agauptam, agaupta, agaupsam, agaupsva, agaupsma. agopāyiṣayt, agopiṣyat, agopsyat.*

√*kṣi* = to wane. *kṣayati, cikṣāya, cikṣiyatuḥ, cikṣiyuḥ.* When by the rule *ekāca* etc. the prohibition (of *iṭ*) becomes imminent.

४३७ कृसृभृवृस्तुद्रुस्रुश्रुवो लिटि ॥ ७.२.१३ ॥
क्रादिभ्य एव लिट इण् न स्यात् । अन्यस्मादनिटोऽपि स्यात् ।

४३८ अचस्तास्वत् थल्यनिटो नित्यम् ॥ ७.२.६१ ॥
उपदेशेऽजन्तो यो धातुस्तासौ नित्यानिट् ततः[1] थल इण् न ।

४३९ उपदेशेऽत्वतः ॥ ७.२.६२ ॥
उपदेशेऽकारवतस्तासौ नित्यानिटः परस्य थल इण् न ।

४४० ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य ॥ ७.२.६३ ॥

437. After the roots *kṛ, sṛ, bhṛ, vṛ, stu, dru, sru* and *śru,* when followed by *liṭ* (7.2.13).

In the case of *liṭ* coming after √*kṛ* etc. only, (the augment) *iṭ* is not appended. After others it is appended, even if they are *aniṭ*.

438. After (a root ending in) a vowel, which is necessarily *aniṭ* before *tās, thal* does not take the augment *iṭ* (7.2.61).

(The augment) *iṭ* is not appended to *thal* coming after a root which in the original enunciation ends in a vowel and is necessarily *aniṭ* when followed by *tāsi.*

439. After that which has an *at* in the *upadeśa* (7.2.62).

(The augment) *iṭ* is not appended to *thal,* coming after a root which has an *at* in the original enunciation and which is necessarily *aniṭ* when followed by *tāsi.*

440. After *ṛt,* in the opinion of Bhāradvāja. (7.2.63).

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१ V ततः परस्य

तासौ नित्यानिट ऋदन्तादेव थलो नेट् भारद्वाजस्य मते । तेनान्यस्य स्यादेव । चिक्षयिथ चिक्षेथ चिक्षियथुः चिक्षिय चिक्षाय चिक्षय चिक्षियिव चिक्षियिम । क्षेता क्षेष्यति क्षयतु अक्षयत् क्षयेत् ।

४४१ अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः ॥ ७.४.२५ ॥

अजन्तस्य दीर्घो यादौ प्रत्यये । न तु कृत्सार्वधातुकयोः । क्षीयात् ।

४४२ सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७.२.१ ॥

इगन्ताङ्गस्य वृद्धिः सिचि परस्मैपदे । अक्षैषीत् अक्षेष्यत् ।

तप सन्तापे । तपति ततापि[१] ।

In the opinion of Bhāradvāja, (the augment) *iṭ* is not appended to *thal* coming after a root that is necessarily *aniṭ* when followed by *tāsi* and ends in *ṛt* only. Hence in the case of other roots (*iṭ*) is appended. *cikṣayitha, cikṣetha, cikṣiyathuḥ, cikṣiya, cikṣāya, cikṣaya, cikṣiyiva, cikṣiyima. kṣetā, kṣayatu. kṣeṣyati, akṣayat, kṣayet.*

441. Long, when followed by not *kṛt,* and not *sārvadhātuka*. (7.4.25).

Long (vowel is substituted) in the place of the base (a root) ending in a vowel, when followed by a *pratyaya* beginning with *y*. But not when followed by *kṛt* and *sārvadhātuka pratyayas. kṣīyāt.*

442. When followed by *sic, vṛddhi,* in the *parasmaipada*. (7.2.1).

In the place of a base (a root) ending in *ik, vṛddhi* (is substituted) when followed by *sic* (and) *parasmaipada* (ending). *akṣaiṣīt, akṣeṣyat.*

√*tap* = to burn. *tapati, tatāpa*

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१ V omitted

४४३ अत एकहल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि ॥ ६.४.१२० ॥

लिण्निमित्तादेशादिकं न भवति यदङ्गं तदवयवस्य संयुक्तहल्-मध्यस्थस्यात[1] एत्वमभ्य सल पश्च किति लिटि । [2]तेपतुः तेपुः ।

४४४ थलि च सेटि ॥ ६.४.१२१ ॥

इड्वति थलि च प्रागुक्तं स्यात् । तेपिथ ततप्थ तेपथुः तेप। तताप ततप तेपिव तेपिम । तप्ता तप्स्यति तपतु अतपत् तपेत् तप्यात् अताप्सीत् अताप्ताम् अतप्स्यत् ।

॥ इति परस्मैपदम् ॥

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443. In the place of *at*, standing between two simple consonants, not beginning with a substitute, when followed by *liṭ* (6.4.120).

In the place of *a* (short), standing between (two) single consonants, (and) forming part of a base (*aṅga*), which does not begin with a substitute caused by *liṭ*, *e* is substituted; and elision, in the place of the *abhyāsa*, when followed by *liṭ kiṭ*. *tepatuḥ, tepuḥ.*

444. And when followed by *that* having *iṭ*. (6.4.121).

When followed by *thal* having *iṭ*, what has been said above, takes place. *tepitha, tataptha, tepathuḥ, tepa, tatāpa, tatapa, tepiva, tepima, taptā, tapsyati, tapatu, atapat, tapet, tapyāt, atāpsīt, atāptām, atapsyat.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *Parasmaipada* (*bhvādi gaṇa*).

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१ B_2 स्याकारस्यैकारः स्यादभ्या°

२ V तताप before तेपतुः

एध वृद्धौ ।

४४५ **टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे** ॥ ३.४.७९ ॥
टितो लस्य त्मनेपदानां टेरेत्वम् । एधते ।

४४६ **सार्वधातुकमपित्** ॥ १.२.४ ॥
ङिद्वत् ।

४४७ **आतो ङितः** ॥ ७.२.८१ ॥
अतः परस्य ङितामात इय् । एधेते एधन्ते ।

४४८ **थासः से** ॥ ३.४.८० ॥
टितो लस्य । एधसे । एधेथे एधध्वे एधे एधावहे एधामहे ।

४४९ **इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः** ॥ ३.१.३६ ॥
इजादिर्यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छत्यन्य. तत आम् लिटि ।

√*edh* = to grow.

445. In the place of *ṭi* of the *ātmanepada* (endings) of the *ṭit* (*lakāra*), *e* (3.4.79).

In the case of a *ṭit lakāra,* in the place of the *ṭi* of the *ātmanepada* (endings), *e* is (substituted). *edhate.*

446. *sārvadhātuka apit* (1.2.4),

(is to be considered) as if it had an indicatory *ṅ*.

447. In the place of *āt* belonging to a *ṅit* (*lakāra*) (7.2.81).

In the place of *ā*, belonging to *ṅit* (*lakāras*), coming after (a base ending in) *a, iy* (is substituted). *edhete, edhante.*

448. In the place of *thās, se* (3.4.80).

In the case of a *ṭit lakāra*. *edhase, edhethe, edhadhve, edhe, edhāvahe, edhāmahe.*

449. After a (root), beginning with *ic* and having a long (vowel), except √*ṛcch* (3.1.36).

After a root, other than √*ṛcch,* that begins with *ic* and has a long vowel, *ām* (is appended) when *liṭ* follows.

४५० [1]आम्प्रत्ययवत् कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ १.३.६३ ॥

आम्प्रकृत्या तुल्यमनुप्रयुज्यमानात् कृञोऽप्यात्मनेपदम् ।

४५१ लिटस्तझयोरेशिरेच् ॥ ३.४.८१ ॥

एधांचक्रे एधांचक्राते एधांचक्रिरे । एधांचकृषे एधांचक्राथे ।

४५२ इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धोऽङ्गात् ॥ ८.३.७८ ॥

इणन्तादङ्गात् परेषां षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धस्य ढः । एधांचकृढ्वे । एधांचक्रे एधांचकृवहे एधांचकृमहे । एधाम्बभूव एधामास । एधिता एधितारौ एधितारः एधितासे एधितासाथे ।

450. As after (a root) having the *pratyaya ām,* in the case of √*kṛ* that is used. (1.3.63).

ātmanepada (endings) are appended after √*kṛ* which is employed after (a base ending in *ām*), as after the base (= the root) having *ām* appended to it.

451. In the place of *ta* and *jha* of the *liṭ*, *eś* and *irec* (3.4.81).

edhāṁcakre, edhāṁcakrāte, edhāṁcakrire; edhāṁcakṛṣe, edhāṁcakrāthe.

452. In the place of *dh,* belonging to *ṣīdhvam, luṅ* and *liṭ,* coming after a base (ending in) *iṇ* (8.3.78).

In the place of *dh* belonging to *ṣīdhvam, luṅ,* and *liṭ,* coming after a base ending in an *iṇ, ḍh* (is substituted). *edhāṁcakṛḍhve, edhāṁcakre edhāṁcakṛvahe, edhaṁcakṛmahe. edhāmbabhūva, edhāmāsa. edhitā, edhitārau, edhitāraḥ, edhitāse, edhitāsāthe,*

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१ B_1 *sūtra* omitted

४५३ धि च ॥ ८.२.२५ ॥

धादौ प्रत्यये सलोपः । एधिताध्वे ।

४५४ ह एति ॥ ७.४.५२ ॥

तासस्त्योः सस्य । एधिताहे एधितास्वहे एधितास्महे । एधिष्यते एधिष्येते एधिष्यन्ते । एधिष्यसे एधिष्येथे एधिष्यध्वे एधिष्ये एधिष्यामहे ।

४५५ आमेतः ॥ ३.४.९० ॥

लोट एत आम् । एधताम् एधेताम् एधन्ताम् ।

४५६ सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥ ३.४.९१ ॥

सवाभ्यां परस्य लोडेतः[१] । एधस्व एधेथाम् एधध्वम् ।

453. And when followed by *dh* (8.2.25).

Elision of *s* (takes place) when followed by a *pratyaya* beginning with *dh*. *edhitādhve.*

454. *h*, when followed by *et* (7.4.52),

(is substituted) in the place of *s* belonging to *tās* and to √*as*. *edhitāhe, edhitāsvahe, edhitāsmahe, edhiṣyate, edhiṣyete, edhiṣyante, edhiṣyase, edhiṣyethe, edhiṣyadhve, edhiṣye, edhiṣyāmahe.*

455. *ām*, in the place of *et*. (3.4.90).

In the case of *loṭ*, in the place of *e*, *ām* (is substituted). *edhatām, edhetām, edhantām.*

456. After *s* and *v*, *v* and *am* (3.4.91).

In the place of *e* belonging to *loṭ*, coming after *s* and *v*. *edhasva, edhethām, edhadhvam.*

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१ V लोटेतः

४५७ एत ऐ ॥ ३.४.९३ ॥

लोडुत्तमस्य । एधै एधावहै एधामहै । आटश्च । ऐधत ऐधेताम् ऐधन्त । । ऐधथाः ऐधेथाम् ऐधध्वम् ऐधे ऐधावहि ऐधामहि ।

४५८ लिङः सीयुट् ॥ ३.४.१०२ ॥

सलोपः । एधेत एधेयाताम् ।

४५९ झस्य रन् ॥ ३.४.१०५ ॥

लिङः । एधेरन् । एधेयाः एधेयाथाम् एधेध्वम् ।

४६० इटोऽत् ॥ ३.४.१०६ ॥

लिङादेशस्य । एधेय एधेवहि एधेमहि ।

४६१ सुट् तिथोः ॥ ३.४.१०७ ॥

457. In the place of *et, ai* (3.4.93).

Belonging to the *uttama* (ending) of the *loṭ*. *edhai, edhāvahai, edhāmahai*. And *āṭ* (is prefixed). *aidhata, aidhetām, aidhanta, aidhathāḥ, aidhethām, aidhadhvam, aidhe, aidhāvahi, aidhāmahi*.

458. In the case of *liṅ, sīyuṭ* (3.4.102).

Elision of *s* (takes place). *edheta, edheyātām*,

459. In the place of *jh, ran* (3.4.105).

In the case of *liṅ*. *edheran, edhethāḥ, edheyāthām, edhedhvam*.

460. In the place of *iṭ, at* (3.4.106).

Belonging to the substitute of *liṅ*. *edheya, edhevahi, edhemahi*.

461. *suṭ*, in the case of *t* and *th* (3.4.107).

लिङस्तथोः[१] सुट् । एधिषीष्ट एधिषीयास्ताम् एधिषीरन् । एधिषीष्ठाः एधिषीयास्थाम् । एधिषीध्वम् । एधिषीय एधिषीवहि एधिषीमहि । ऐधिष्ट ऐधिषाताम् ।

४६२ आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः ॥ ७.१.५ ॥

अनात्परस्यात्मनेपदेषु झस्य अत् । ऐधिषत ऐधिष्ठाः ऐधिषाथाम्[२] ऐधिढ्वम् ऐधिषि ऐधिष्वहि ऐधिष्महि । ऐधिष्यत ऐधिष्येताम् ऐधिष्यन्त[३] ऐधिष्यथाः ऐधिष्येथाम्[४] ऐधिष्यध्वम् ऐधिष्ये ऐधिष्यावहि[५] ऐधिष्यामहि ।

डुपचष् पाके ।

In the case of *t* and *th* belonging to *liṅ*, (the augment) *suṭ* (is appended). *edhiṣīṣṭa, edhiṣīyāstām, edhiṣīran, edhiṣīṣṭhāḥ, edhiṣīyāsthām, edhiṣīdhvam, edhiṣīya, edhiṣivahi, edhiṣīmahi. aidhiṣṭa, aidhiṣātām,*

462. In the case of the *ātmanepada* endings, not coming after *a*. (7.1.5).

In the place of *jh*, not coming after *a* in the *ātmanepada* endings, *at* (is substituted). *aidhiṣata, aidhiṣṭhāḥ, aidhiṣāthām, aidhiḍhvam, aidhiṣi aidhiṣvahi, aidhiṣmahi; aidhiṣyata, aidhiṣyetām, aidhiṣyanta, aidhiṣyathāḥ, aidhiṣyethām, aidhiṣyadhvam, aidhiṣye, aidhiṣyāvahi, aidhiṣyāmahi.*

$\sqrt{}$*pac* = to cook.

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१ V °स्तयोः
२ V omitted
३ V omitted
४ V omitted
५ V omitted

४६३ आदिर्ञिटुडवः ॥ १.३.५ ॥

धातोराद्या एते इतः । [१]पचति पचते । पपाच पेचतुः पेचुः पेचिथ पपक्थ[२] । पेचे । पक्तासि पक्तासे । पक्ष्यति पक्ष्यते[३] । पचतु पचताम् । अपचत् अपचत । पचेत् पचेत । पच्यात् पक्षीष्ट । अपाक्षीत् अपक्त : अपक्ष्यत् अपक्ष्यत ।

॥ इति भ्वादिः[४] ॥

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463. Initial *ñi, ṭu* and *ḍu* (1.3.5).

These standing at the beginning of a root are indicatory. *pacati, pacate, papāca, pecatuḥ, pecuḥ, pecitha, papaktha, pece. paktāsi, paktāse, pakṣyati, pakṣyate, pacatu, pacatām, apacat, apacata, pacet, paceta, pacyāt, pakṣīṣṭa, apākṣīt, apakta, apakṣyat, apakṣyata.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *bhvādi gaṇa.*

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१ V adds पचतः पचन्ति after पचति; and पचेते पचन्ते after पचते

२ V adds पेचथुः पेच पपाच पेचिव पेचिम and omits all forms from पेचे upto अपक्ष्यत

३ D Omitted; B_1 D from पक्ष्यते upto अपक्त omitted

४ Colophon found only in B_2

अद भक्षणे ।

४६४ अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः ॥ २.४.७२ ॥

लुक् । अत्ति अत्तः अदन्ति अत्सि अत्थः अत्थ अद्मि अद्वः अद्मः ।

४६५ लिट्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २.४.४० ॥

अदो घस्लृ । जघास ।

४६६ गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङिति अनङि ॥ ६.४.९८ ॥

एषामुपधालोपोऽजादौ क्ङिति न त्वङि । घस्य चर्त्वम् ।

४६७ शासिवसिघसीनां च ॥ ८.३.६० ॥

इण्कुभ्यामेषां सस्य षः । जक्षतुः जक्षुः । जघसिथ । आद आदतुः आदुः ।

√*ad* = to eat.

464. In the place of *śap* coming after √*ad* etc. (2.4.72).

elision (is substituted). *atti, attaḥ, adanti, atsi, atthaḥ, attha, admi, advaḥ, admaḥ*

465. When followed by *liṭ*, optionally (2.4.40).

In the place of √*ad*, *ghasḷ* (is substituted). *jaghāsa.*

466. In the case of (the roots) *gam, han, jan, khan* and *ghas,* elision, when followed by *kit* or *ṅit* (*pratyayas*) other than *aṅ* (6.4.98).

In the case of these (roots), elision is (substituted) in the place of the penultimate, when followed by a *kit* or a *ṅit* (*pratyaya*), other than *aṅ*, beginning with a vowel. Then takes place the substitution of *car* in the place of *gh*.

467. And in the case of (the roots) *śās, vas* and *ghas* (8.3.60).

In the place of *s* belonging to these (roots), *ṣ* (is substituted), when preceded by *iṇ* or *ku. jakṣatuḥ, jakṣuḥ, jaghasitha, āda, ādatuḥ, āduḥ.*

४६८ इडत्त्यर्तिव्ययतीनाम् ॥ ७.२.६६ ॥

अद् ऋ व्येञ् एभ्यः थलो नित्यमिट् । आदिथ । अत्ता । अत्स्यति । अत्तु अत्तात् अत्ताम्[१] अदन्तु[२] ।

४६९ हुझल्भ्यो हेर्धिः ॥ ६.४.१०१ ॥

अद्धि अत्तात्[३] अत्तम्[३] अत्त[३] अदानि अदाव[४] अदाम[४] ।

४७० अदः सर्वेषाम् ॥ ७.३.१०० ॥

अदोऽपृक्तसार्वधातुकस्य अट् । आदत् आत्ताम् आदन् आदः आत्तम्[५] आत्त[५] आदम् आद्व आद्म[६] । अद्यात् अद्याताम्[७] अद्युः । अद्यात्[८] अद्यास्ताम्[८] ।

468. In the case of the roots *ad*, *ṛ*, and *vye*, *iṭ* ((7.2.66). (The augment) *iṭ* is necessarily (appended) to *thal*, coming after the roots *ad*, *ṛ*, and *vye*. *āditha*, *attā*, *atsyati*, *attu*, *attāt*, *attām*, *adantu*.

469. In the place of *hi*, coming after *hu* and *jhal*, *dhi* is substituted (6.4.101).

addhi, *attāt*, *attam*, *atta*, *adāni*, *adāva*, *adāma*.

470. After √*ad*, (in the opinion) of all (7.3.100).

In the case of an *apṛkta sārvadhātuka*, coming after √*ad*, (the augment) *aṭ* (is appended). *ādat*, *āttām*, *ādan*, *ādaḥ*, *āttam*, *ātta*, *ādam*, *ādva*, *ādma*, *adyāt*, *adyātām*, *adyuḥ*, *adyāt*, *adyāstām*.

---

१ V omitted

२ V omitted

३ V omitted

४ V omitted

५ V omitted

६ V omitted

७ V omits this; and reads उस्यपदान्तात् (= ६.१.९६) अपदान्तात अवर्णान्तात् उसि परे पररूपमेकादेशः before अद्युः ।

८ V omitted

४७१ लुङ्सनोर्घस्लृ ॥ २.४.३७ ॥

अदः ।

४७२ पुषादिद्युताद्य्लृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ३.१.५५ ॥

श्यन्विकरणपुषादेर्द्युतादेर्लृदितश्च परस्य च्लेरङ् परस्मैपदेषु । अघसत् । आत्स्यत् ।

शीङ् स्वप्ने ।

४७३ शीङः सार्वधातुके गुणः ॥ ७.४.२१ ॥

शेते शयाते ।

४७४ शीङो रुट् ॥ ७.१.६ ॥

471. When followed by *luṅ* or *san*, *ghasḷ* (2.4.37), (is substituted) in the place of √*ad*.

472. After √*puṣ* etc., √*dyut* etc, and (root) having indicatory *ḷ*, when followed by the *parasmaipada* (endings). (3.1.55).

In the place of cli, coming after √*puṣ* etc. of cl.4, after √*dyut* etc., and after a root having indicatory *ḷ*, *aṅ* (is substituted) when followed by *parasmaipada* (endings). *aghasat*, *ātsyat*

√*śī* = to sleep.

473. In the place of √*śī*, when followed by *sārvadhātuka*, *guṇa* (7.4.21).

śete, *śayāte*.

474. In the case of √*śī*, *ruṭ* (7.1.6).

शीङो झादेशस्यातो रुट्। शेरते। शेषे शयाथे शेध्वे शये[१] शेवहे[१] शेमहे। शिश्ये शिश्याते[२] शिश्यिरे। शयिता शयिष्यते। शेताम् शयाताम् शेरताम्[३]। अशेत अशयाताम् अशेरत[४]। शयीत शयीयाताम्[५] शयीरन्[५]। शयिषीष्ट। अशयिष्ट। अशयिष्यत।

दुह प्रपूरणे।

४७५ झषस्तथोर्धोऽधः ॥ ८.२.४० ॥

झषः परयोस्तथयोर्धो न तु दधातेः। दोग्धि दुग्धः दुहन्ति धोक्षि दुग्धे दुहाते दुहते धुक्षे दुहाथे धुग्ध्वे दुहे दुह्महे। दुदोह दुदुहे। दोग्धा। धोक्ष्यति[६] धोक्ष्यते। दोग्धु दुग्धात् दुग्धाम् दुहन्तु। दुग्धि दुग्धात् दुग्ध। दोहानि। दुग्धाम् दुहाताम् दुहताम् धुक्ष्व दुहाथाम् धुग्ध्वम्

In the case of the *at*, substitute of *jha*, coming after √*śī*, (the augment) *ruṭ* (is appended). *śerate*, *śeṣe*, *śayāthe*, *śedhve*, *śaye*, *śevahe*, *śemahe*; *śiśye*, *śiśyāte*, *śiśyire*; *śayitā*, *śayiṣyate*; *śetām*, *śayātām*, *śeratām*; *aśeta*, *aśayātām*, *aśerata*; *śayīta*, *śayīyātām*, *śayīran*; *śayiṣīṣṭa*; *aśayiṣṭa*; *aśayiṣyata*.

√*duh* = to milk.

475. In the place of *t* or *th*, coming after *jhaṣ*, not belonging to √*dhā*, *dh*. (8.2.40).

In the place of *t* and *th*, coming after a *jhaṣ*, *dh* (is substituted), but not (in the place of the *t* or *th*) belonging to √*dhā*. *dogdhi*, *dugdhaḥ*, *duhanti*, *dhokṣi*; *dugdhe*, *duhāte*, *duhate*, *dhukṣe*, *duhāthe*, *dhugdhve*, *duhe*, *duhmahe*; *dudoha*, *duduhe*; *dogdhā*; *dhokṣyati*, *dhokṣyate*; *dogdhu*, *dugdhāt*, *dugdhām*, *duhantu*, *dugdhi*, *dugdhāt*, *dugdha*, *dohāni*; *dugdhām*, *duhātām*, *duhatām*, *dhukṣva*, *duhāthām*, *dhugdhvam*, *dohai*,

१ V omitted
२ V omitted
३ After this V adds शेष्व शयाथाम् शेध्वम्। शयै शेवहै शेमहै।
४ V omitted
५ V omitted
६ B_3 From here upto दुहाथाम् omitted

दोहै दोहावहै दोहामहै । अधोक् अदुग्धाम् अदुहन् । अदुग्ध अदुहाताम् अदुहत । दुह्यात् दुहीत ।

४७६ **लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु** ।। १.२.११ ।।

इक्समीपात् हलः परौ झलादी लिङ् आत्मनेपदपरसिच्च इत्येतौ कितौ स्तः । धुक्षीष्ट ।

४७७ **शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः** ।। ३.१.४५ ।।

इगुपधो यः शलन्तः तस्मादनिटः च्लेः क्सादेशः । [1]अधुक्षत् ।

४७८ **लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये** ।। ७.३.७३ ।।

एषां क्सस्य लुग्वा दन्त्ये तङि । अदुग्ध अधुक्षत ।

dohāvahai, dohāmahai; adhok, adugdhām, aduhan, adugdha, aduhātām, aduhata; duhyāt, duhīta.

476. *liṅ* and *sic,* when followed by *ātmanepada* (endings) (1.2.11).

The (substitutes of) *liṅ* and *sic*, beginning with a *jhal* and coming after a consonant that comes after an *ik,* when followed by the *ātmanepada* endings, are (to be considered) *kit*. *dhukṣīṣṭa.*

477. In the place of (*cli*), not having *iṭ,* (is substituted) *ksa,* when it comes after (a root ending in) a *śal* and has an *ik* for its penultimate. (3.1.45).

ksa is substituted in the place of a *cli,* not having *it,* and coming after (a root) which ends in a *śal* and has *ik* for its penultimate. *adhukṣat.*

478. Elision, optionally, in the case of the (roots), *duh, dih, lih* and *guh,* when followed by an *ātmanepada* dental (ending) (7.3.73).

In the place of *ksa,* in the case of these (roots), elision is optionally (substituted) when a dental *taṅ* (=*ātmanepada* ending) follows. *adugdha, adhukṣata.*

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१ B_1 From here upto अदुग्ध omitted

४७९ क्सस्याचि ॥ ७.३.७२ ॥

अजादौ तङि क्सस्य लोपः। अधुक्षाताम् अधुक्षत अधुक्षथाः अदुग्धाः अधुक्षाथाम् अधुग्ध्वम्। अधुक्षि अधुक्षामहि। अधोक्ष्यत् अधोक्ष्यत।

॥ इति अदादिः[१] ॥

हु दानादनयोः।

४८० जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः ॥ २.४.७५ ॥

शपः।

479. In the place of *ksa*, when a vowel follows (7.3.72).

In the place of *ksa*, when followed by a *taṅ* (= *ātmanepada* ending) beginning with a vowel, elision (is substituted). *adhukṣātām, adhukṣata, adhukṣathāḥ; adugdhāḥ adhukṣāthām, adhugdhvam, adhukṣi, adhuṣāmahi; adhokṣyat, adhokṣyata.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *adādi gaṇa*.

√*hu*= to sacrifice, to eat.

480. After √*hu* etc., *ślu* (2.4.75).

In the place of *śap*.

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१ Found in V, B_2; B_1 has इति अदादयः।

४८१ श्लौ ॥ ६.१.१० ॥

धातोर्द्वे स्तः। जुहोति जुहुतः।

४८२ उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ६.१.५ ॥

षाष्ठद्वित्वप्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे समुदिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः।

४८३ अदभ्यस्तात् ॥ ७.१.४ ॥

झस्य।

४८४ हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ६.४.८७ ॥

हुश्नुवोरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्ववर्णस्य यण् अचि सार्वधातुके। जुह्वति।

481. When followed by *ślu* (6.1.10).

In the place of a root, reduplication takes place. *juhoti, juhutaḥ*.

482. Both (are designated) *abhyasta* (6.1.5).

The two (i.e. reduplication) that are enjoined in the reduplication section in the sixth chapter, are both collectively designated *abhyasta*.

483. *at*, coming after *abhyasta* (7.1.4).

In the place of *jha*.

484. In the case of √*hu* and *śnu*, when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* (ending) (6.4.87).

In the place of *u* of √*hu* and of (the bases ending in the *vikaraṇa*) *śnu*, having more vowels than one and not preceded by a conjunct consonant, *yaṇ* (is substituted), when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* (ending, beginning with) a vowel. *juhvati*.

४८५ भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३.१.३९ ॥

एभ्यो लिटि आम् वा स्यात्। आमि श्लाविव कार्यं च। जुहवांचकार जुहाव होता होष्यति जुहोतु जुहुतात् जुहुताम्[1]।

४८६ [2]जुसि च ॥ ७.३.८३ ॥

इगन्ताङ्गस्य गुणोऽजादौ जुसि। अजुहवुः। जुहुयात् हूयात् अहौषीत् अहोष्यत्।

॥ इति जुहोत्यादिः[3] ॥

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485. In the case of the roots *bhī, hrī, bhṛ* and *hu,* like *ślu* also (3.1.39).

After these (roots) when followed by *liṭ, ām* is optionally appended; and when *ām* follows, operations as before *ślu* (will be made). *juhavāṁcakāra, juhāva, hotā, hoṣyati, juhotu, juhutāt, juhutām.*

486. And when followed by *jus* (7.3.83).

In the place of a base ending in *ik, guṇa* (is substituted), when followed by *jus* beginning with a vowel. *ajuhavuḥ, juhuyāt, hūyāt, ahauṣīt, ahoṣyat.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *juhotyādi gaṇa.*

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१ V and D add जुहुताम् जुह्वतु जुहुधि जुहवानि अजुहोत् अजुहुताम्

२ V From here upto °जादौ जुसि omitted

३ B_1 Colophon omitted

दिवु क्रीडाविजिगीषाव्यवहारद्युतिस्तुतिमोदमदस्वप्नकान्तिगतिषु ।

४८७ दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ३.१.६९ ॥

शपोऽपवादः ।

४८८ हलि च ॥ ८.२.७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः । दीव्यति । दिदेव देविता देविष्यति दीव्यतु अदीव्यत् दीव्येत्[१] दीव्यात् अदेवीत् अदेविष्यत् ।

एवं षिवु तन्तुसन्ताने ।

॥ इति दिवादिः[२] ॥

षुञ् अभिषवे ।

√*div* = to plan, to desire, to win, to traffic, to shine, to praise, to rejoice, to be mad, to sleep, to love, and to go.

487. After √*div* etc., *śyan* (3.1.69).

An exception to *śap*.

488. And when followed by a *hal* (8.2.77).

In the place of the penultimate *ik* of a root (ending in) *r* or *v*, long (vowel is substituted). *dīvyati, dideva, devitā, deviṣyati, dīvyatu, adīvyat, dīvyet, dīvyāt, adevīt, adeviṣyat*.

Similarly (is conjugated). √ *siv* = to sew.

Thus ends (the section on) the *divādi gaṇa*.

√*su* = to extract (*soma* juice).

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१ B_2 omitted

२ B_1, B_2, D Colophon not found

४८९ स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ३.१.७३ ॥

शपोऽपवादः। सुनोति सुनुतः सुन्वन्ति सुनोषि सुनुथः सुनुथ सुनोमि।

४९० लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वोः ॥ ६.४.१०७ ॥

असंयोगपूर्वस्य प्रत्ययोकारस्य लोपो वा म्वोः परयोः। सुनुवः सुन्वः सुनुमः सुन्मः सुनुते सुन्वाते सुन्वते[1] सुनुवहे सुन्वहे सुनुमहे सुन्महे। सुषाव सुषुवे। सोता सोष्यति सोष्यते। सुनोतु सुनुतात् सुनुताम् सुन्वन्तु।

४९१ उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ ६.४.१०६ ॥

असंयोगपूर्वात् प्रत्ययोतो हेर्लुक्। सुनु सुनुतात्। सुनुतम् सुनुत। सुनवानि सुनवाव सुनवाम। सुनुताम् सुन्वाताम् सुन्वताम्। सुनुष्व सुन्वाथाम् सुनुध्वम्।

489. After √*su* etc., *śnu* (3.1.73).

Exception to *śap*. *sunoti, sunutaḥ, sunvanti, sunoṣi, sunuthaḥ, sunutha, sunomi.*

490. And elision, in the place of this, optionally, when followed by *m* or *v* (6.4.107).

In the place of the *u*, belonging to a *pratyaya*, not preceded by a conjunct consonant, elision (is substituted) optionally, when followed by *m or v*. *sunuvaḥ, sunvaḥ, sunumaḥ, sunmaḥ; sunute, sunvāte, sunvate, sunuvahe, sunvahe, sunumahe, sunmahe; suṣāva, suṣuve; sotā, soṣyati, soṣyate; sunotu, sunutāt, sunutām, sunvantu.*

491. And after a *pratyaya*, (ending in) *u*, not preceded by a conjunct consonant (6.4.106).

After the *u* of a *pratyaya* not preceded by a conjunct consonant, elision (is substituted in the place) of *hi*. *sunu, sunutāt, sunutam, sunuta, sunavāni, sunavāva, sunavāma; sunutām, sunvātām, sunvatām, sunuṣva, sunvāthām, sunudhvam.*

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१ B_2 adds सुनुषे सुन्वाथे सुनुध्वे after सुन्वते

४९२ **आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च** ॥ ३.४.९२ ॥

सुनवै सुनवावहै सुनवामहै। असुनोत् असुनुताम् असुन्वन्। असुनोः असुनुतम् असुनुत असुनवम् असुनुव असुन्व असुनुम असुन्म। असुनुत असुन्वाताम् असुन्वत असुनुथाः असुन्वाथाम् असुनुध्वम् असुन्वि असुनुवहि असुन्वहि असुनुमहि असुन्महि। सुनुयात् सुनुयाताम्।

४९३ **उस्यपदान्तात्** ॥ ६.१.९५ ॥

अपदान्तादुसि पररूपमेकादेशः। सुनुयुः। सुनुयाः सुनुयातम् सुनुयात। सुनुयाम् सुनुयाव सुनुयाम। सुन्वीत सुन्वीयाताम् सुन्वीरन्। सुयात् सुषीष्ट सुषीयास्ताम् सुषीरन्।

492. *āṭ* in the case of the *uttama*, and *pit* (3.4.92).

sunavai, sunavāvahai, sunavāmahai; asunot, asunutām, asunvan, asunoḥ, asunutam, asunuta, asunavam, asunuva, asunva, asunuma, asunma, asunuta, asunvātām, asunvata, asunuthāḥ, asunvāthām, asunudhvam, asunvi, asunuvahi, asunvahi, asunumahi, asunmahi; *sunuyāt, sunuyātām.*

493. When followed by *us*, after (*a* or *ā*) not ending a *pada*. (6.1.95).

(In the case of *a* or *ā*), not coming at the end of a *pada*, when followed by *us*, the form of the latter is the single substitute (for both). *sunuyuḥ, sunuyāḥ, sunuyātam, sunuyāta, sunuyām, sunuyāva, sunuyāma; sunvīta, sunvīyātām, sunvīran; suyāt, suṣīṣṭa, suṣīyāstām, suṣīran.*

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१ B_1, B_2, D आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च (३.४.९२) omitted

४९४ स्तुसुधूञ्भ्यः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ७.२.७२ ॥

सिच इट् । असावीत् असोष्ट असोष्यत् असोष्यत ।

॥ इति स्वादिः[1] ॥

तुद व्यथने ।

४९५ तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ३.१.७७ ॥

शपोऽपवादः। तुदति तुदते तुतोद तुतोदिथ तुतुदे तोत्ता तोत्स्यति तोत्स्यते । तुदतु तुदताम् । अतुदत् अतुदत । तुदेत् तुदेत । तुद्यात् तुत्सीष्ट अतौत्सीत् । अतुत्त । अतोत्स्यत् । अतोत्स्यत ।

॥ इति तुदादिः[2] ॥

494. After √*stu*, √*su*, √*dhū*, when *parasmaipada* (endings) follow (7.2.72).

In the case of *sic*, (the *augment*) *iṭ* (is appended). *asāvīt*, *asoṣṭa*, *asoṣyat*, *asoṣyata*.

Thus ends (the section on) the *divādi gaṇa*.

√*tud* = to torment.

495. After √*tud* etc. *śa* (3.1.77).

Exception to *śap*. *tudati, tudate, tutoda, tutoditha, tutude, tottā, totsyati, totsyate; tudatu, tudatām, atudat, atudata, tudet, tudeta, tudyāt, tutsīṣṭa, atautsīt, atutta, atotsyat, atotsyata.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *tudādi gaṇa*.

१ Colophon found in V only

२ Colophon not found in B_1 and D

रुधिर् आवरणे।

४९६ इर इत्संज्ञा वाच्या ।

४९७ रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् ।। ३.१.७८ ।।

शपोऽपवादः । रुणद्धि ।

४९८ श्नसोरल्लोपः ।। ६.४.१११ ।।

श्नस्यास्तेश्चातो लोपः सार्वधातुके क्ङिति । रुन्द्धः रुन्धन्ति [1]रुणत्सि रुन्द्धः रुन्द्ध रुणध्मि रुन्ध्वः रुन्ध्मः । रुन्द्धे रुन्धाते रुन्धते । रुन्त्से रुन्धाथे रुद्न्धे रुन्धे रुन्ध्वहे रुन्ध्महे । रुरोध रुरुधे रोद्धा रोत्स्यति रोत्स्यते रुणद्धु रुन्द्धात् रुन्द्धाम् रुन्धन्तु रुन्द्धि रुणधानि रुणधाव रुणधाम रुनद्धाम् रुन्धाताम् रुन्धताम् रुन्त्स्व [2]रुणधै रुणधावहै रुणधामहै[3] अरुणत् अरुन्द्धाम् अरुन्धन् ।

√*rudh* = to obstruct.

496. In the case of *ir*, the designation *it* should be stated.

497. After √*rudh* etc., *śnam* (3.1.78).

Exception to *śap*. *ruṇaddhi.*

498. In the case of *śna* and √*as*, elision of *a* (6.4.111).

In the case of *śna* and of √*as*, elision (is substituted) in the place of *a*, when followed a *sārvadhātuka* ending, having indicatory *k* or *ṅ*. *runddhaḥ, rundhanti, ruṇatsi, runddhaḥ, runddha, ruṇadhmi, rundhvaḥ rundhmaḥ; runddhe, rundhāte, rundhate, runtse, rundhāthe, runddhve, rundhe, rundhvahe, rundhmahe*; *rurodha, rurudhe*; *roddhā*; *rotsyati, rotsyate*; *ruṇaddhu, runddhāt, runddhām, rundhantu, runddhi, ruṇadhāni, ruṇadhāva, ruṇadhāma; runddhām, rundhātām, rundhatām, runtsva, ruṇadhai, ruṇadhāvahai, ruṇadhāmahai; aruṇat, arunddhām, arundhan.*

१ B_2 From रुणत्सि upto रुन्धते omitted

२ Before this V adds आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च ।

३ D omitted

४९९ दश्च ॥ ८.२.७५ ॥

धातोर्दस्य पदान्तस्य सिपि रुर्वा। अरुणत् अरुणः अरुन्द्धम् अरुन्द्ध[१]। अरुन्द्ध अरुन्धाताम् अरुन्धत। रुन्ध्यात् रुन्धीत[२]। रुध्यात् रुत्सीष्ट।

५०० इरितो वा ॥ ३.१.५७ ॥

धातोः च्लेरङ्। अरुधत् अरौत्सीत् अरुद्ध अरोत्स्यत् अरोत्स्यत। एवं भिदिर् विदारणे। छिदिर् द्वैधीकरणे। युजिर् योगे।

॥ इति रुधादिः[३] ॥

तनु विस्तारे।

499. And in the place of *d* (8.2.75).

In the place of *d* of a root standing at the end of a *pada*, *ru* is optionally (substituted), when followed by *sip*. *aruṇat, aruṇaḥ, arunddham, arunddha, arunddha, arundhātām, arundhata; rundhyāt, rundhīta; rudhyāt, rutsīṣṭa.*

500. In the case of (a root) having indicatory *ir*, optionally (3.1.57).

In the case of a root, *aṅ* (is substituted) in the place of *cli*. *arudhat, arautsīt, aruddha, arotsyat, arotsyata.*

Similarly √*bhid* = to break; √*chid* = to cut, to split; and √*yuj* = to join.

Thus ends (the section on) the *rudhādi gaṇa*.

√*tan* = to spread.

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१ D After this B_2 adds अरुन्धम् अरुन्ध्व अरुन्ध्म। D omitted

२ D omitted

३ B_1 °दिः समाप्तः : D No colophon

५०१ तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः ॥ ३.१.७९ ॥

शपोऽपवादः[1]। तनोति तनुते। ततान। तेने तनिता तनिष्यति तनिष्यते। तनोतु तनुताम् अतनोत् अतनुत। तनुयात् तन्वीत। तन्यात् तनिषीष्ट। अतनीत् अतानीत्।

५०२ तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः ॥ २.४.७९ ॥

तनादेः सिचो वा लुक् तथासोः। अतत अतनिष्ट अतथाः अतनिष्ठाः अतनिष्यत् अतनिष्यत।

डुकृञ् करणे। करोति।

५०३ अत उत् सार्वधातुके ॥ ६.४.११० ॥

उप्रत्ययान्तकृञो अत उत् सार्वधातुके क्ङिति। कुरुतः।

501. After √*tan* etc. and after √*kṛ*, *u* (3.1.79).

Exception to *śap*. *tanoti, tanute; tatāna, tene; tanitā; taniṣyati, taniṣyate; tanotu, tanutām; atanot, atanuta; tanuyāt, tanvīta; tanyāt, taniṣīṣṭa; atanīt, atānīt.*

502. After √*tan* etc. when followed by *ta* and *thās* (2.4.79).

In the place of *sic*, coming after √*tan* etc., elision is optionally (substituted), when followed by *ta* or *thās*. *atata, ataniṣṭa, atathāḥ, ataniṣṭhāḥ; ataniṣyat, ataniṣyata.*

√*kṛ* = to do. *karoti.*

503. In the place *at*, *ut*, when a *sārvadhātuka* follows. (6.4.110).

In the place of *sic*, coming after √ *tan* etc., elision is optionally the end, *u* (short is substituted), when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* ending, having indicatory *k* or *ṅ*. *kurutaḥ*.

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१ After this V adds पूर्णरूपाण्यवलोक्य अस्य कर्तव्यानि।

५०४ न भकुर्छुराम् ॥ ८.२.७९ ॥

भस्य कुर्छुरोरुपधाया न दीर्घः । कुर्वन्ति ।

५०५ नित्यं करोतेः ॥ ६.४.१०८ ॥

करोतेः प्रत्ययोकारस्य लोपो म्वोः । कुर्वः कुर्मः । कुरुते चकार चकर्थ चकृव[१] चक्रे कर्ता ।

५०६ ऋद्धनोः स्ये ॥ ७.२.७० ॥

ऋतो हन्तेश्च स्यस्येट् । करिष्यति करिष्यते करोतु कुरुतात् अकरोत् अकुरुत ।

५०७ ये च ॥ ६.४.१०९ ॥

कृञ उलोपो यादौ प्रत्यये । कुर्यात् कुर्वीत ।

504. Not in the case of *bha,* √*kr̥* and √*chur* (8.2.79).

In the place of the penultimate of *bha* and of √*kr̥* and √*chur*, a long (vowel) is not (substituted). *kurvanti.*

505. Necessarily in the case of √*kr̥* (6.4.108).

In the place of the vowel *u*, belonging to a *pratyaya,* coming after √*kr̥*, elision (is substituted) when followed by *m* or *v*. *kurvaḥ, kurmaḥ*; *kurute*; *cakāra, cakartha, cakr̥va, cakre*; *kartā.*

506. After *r̥t* and √*han,* when followed by *sya* (7-2-70)

In the case of *sya,* coming after (a root ending in) *r̥*, and after √*han,* (the augment) *iṭ* (is appended). *kariṣyati, kariṣyate, karotu, kurutāt, akarot, akuruta.*

507. And when followed by *y* (6.4.109).

In the place of *u* of √*kr̥*, elision (is substituted), when followed by a *pratyaya* beginning with *y*. *kuryāt, kurvīta.*

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१ B_2 चकर

५०८ **रिङ् शयग्लिङ्क्षु ॥ ७.४.२८ ॥**

शे यकि यादावार्धधातुके लिङि च ऋतो रिङ् । क्रियात् ।

५०९ **उश्च ॥ १.२.१२ ॥**

ऋवर्णात् परौ झलादी लिङ् आत्मनेपदपरसिच् च इत्येतौ कितौ स्तः । कृषीष्ट अकार्षीत् ।

५१० **ह्रस्वादङ्गात् ॥ ८.२.२७ ॥**

सिचो लोपो झलि । अकृत । अकरिष्यत् अकरिष्यत ।

५११ **सम्परिभ्यां करोतौ भूषणे ॥ ६.१.१३३ ॥**

आभ्यां करोतेः सुट् । संस्करोति ।

॥ इति तनादिः[1] ॥

508. *Riṅ*, when followed by *śa, yak* and *liṅ* (endings). (7.4.28).

In the place of *ṛ* short, *ri* is substituted, when followed by *śa, yak* and an *ārdhadhātuka liṅ* ending, beginning with *y*. ***kriyāt***.

509. And after *ṛ* (1.2.12).

A *liṅ* ending, beginning with a *jhal* and *sic*, coming after the letter *ṛ*, are to be considered *kit*, when followed by *ātmanepada* endings. *kṛṣīṣṭa, akārṣīt*.

510. After a short base (8.2.27).

In the place of *sic*, elision (is substituted), when a *jhal* follows. *akṛta, akariṣyat, akariṣyata*.

511. When √*kṛ* comes after *sam* or *pari* in the sense of decorating (6.1.133).

In the case of √*kṛ*, coming after these (two, the augment) *suṭ* (is appended). *saṁskaroti*.

Thus ends (the section on) the *tanādi gaṇa*.

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१ B_1 D No colophon

डुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये ।

५१२ क्र्यादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ३.१.८१ ॥
शपोऽपवादः । क्रीणाति ।

५१३ ई हल्यघोः ॥ ६.४.११३ ॥
श्नाभ्यस्तयोरात ई[1] सार्वधातुके क्ङिति हलि । क्रीणीतः ।

५१४ श्नाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ६.४.११२ ॥
लोपः क्ङिति । क्रीणन्ति । क्रीणासि क्रीणीथः क्रीणीथ क्रीणामि क्रीणीवः क्रीणीमः[2]। क्रीणीते क्रीणाते क्रीणते । क्रीणीषे क्रीणाथे क्रीणीध्वे ।

√*krī* = to buy.

512. After √*krī* etc. *śnā* (3.1.81).

Exception to *śap*. *krīṇāti*.

513. *ī*, when followed by a consonant, not in the case of *ghu* (6.4.113).

In the place of *ā*, belonging to *śnā* and *abhyasta*, *ī* (is substituted), when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* ending, beginning with a consonant and having indicatory *k* or *ṅ*. *krīṇītaḥ*.

514. In the place of *ā* belonging to *śnā* and *abhyasta* (6.4.112).

Elision (is substituted), when followed by (endings) having indicatory *k* or *ṅ*. *krīṇanti, krīṇāsi, krīṇīthaḥ, krīṇītha, krīṇāmi, krīṇīvaḥ, krīṇīmaḥ; krīṇite, krīṇāte, krīṇate, krīṇīṣe, krīṇāthe, krīṇīdhve, krīṇe, krīṇīvahe, krīṇīmahe;*

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१ V ईत्

२ B_1 D, V omitted

क्रीणे क्रीणीवहे क्रीणीमहे। चिक्राय चिक्रियतुः चिक्रियुः। चिक्रेथ चिक्रयिथ। चिक्रिये। क्रेता क्रेष्यति क्रेष्यते। क्रीणातु क्रीणीतात् क्रीणीताम् क्रीणन्तु। क्रीणीताम् क्रीणाताम् क्रीणताम्। अक्रीणात्[१] अक्रीणीत[१]। क्रीणीयात् क्रीणीत। क्रीयात् क्रेषीष्ट। अक्रैषीत् अक्रेष्ट। अक्रेष्यत् अक्रेष्यत[२]।

॥ इति क्र्यादिः[३] ॥

चुर स्तेये।

५१५ सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्ण-चुरादिभ्यो णिच् ॥ ३.१.२५ ॥

स्वार्थे। चोरयति।

cikrāya, cikriyatuḥ, cikriyuḥ, cikretha, cikrayitha; cikriye; kretā; kreṣyati, kreṣyate; krīṇātu, krīṇītāt, krīṇītām, krīṇantu; krīṇītām, krīṇātām, krīṇatām; akrīṇāt, akrīṇīta, krīṇīyāt, krīṇīta, krīyāt, kreṣīṣṭa; akraiṣīt, akreṣṭa; akreṣyat, akreṣyata.

Thus ends (the section on) the *kryādi gaṇa.*

√*cur* = to steal.

515. After *satyāpa, pāśa, rūpa, vīṇā, tūla, śloka, senā, loman, tvac, varman, varṇa, cūrṇa.* and √*cur* etc., *ṇic* (3.1.25).

In the original sense. *corayati.*

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१ B_1 omitted

२ B_2 D V omitted

३ B_1 D V No colophon

५१६ णिचश्च ॥ १.३.७४ ॥

णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं कर्तृगामिनि क्रियाफले। चोरयते। चोरयामास। चोरयिता। चोरयतु चोरयताम्। अचोरयत् अचोरयत। चोरयेत्[1] चोरयेत[1]।

५१७ णेरनिटि ॥ ६.४.५१ ॥

अनिडादावार्धधातुके णेर्लोपः। चोर्यात् चोरयिषीष्ट।

५१८ णिश्रिद्रुस्रुभ्यः कर्तरि चङ् ॥ ३.१.४८ ॥

च्लेश्चङ्[2] कर्त्रर्थे लुङि। चोर् इ अ त् इति स्थिते।

516. And after *ṇic* (1.3.74).

After a base ending in *ṇic*, *ātmanepada* ending (is appended) to signify that the result of the action accrues to the agent. *corayate, corayāmāsa, corayitā, corayatu, corayatām, acorayat, acorayata, corayet, corayeta.*

517. In the place of *ṇi*, when followed by an *aniṭ* (ending) (6.4.51).

In the place of *ṇi*, elision (is substituted), when followed by an *ārdhadhātuka* ending, not beginning with *iṭ*. *coryāt, corayiṣīṣṭa.*

518. After *ṇi* and after √*śri*, √*dru* and √*sru* in the sense of the agent, *caṅ* (3.1.48).

In the place of *cli*, *caṅ* (is substituted) in the sense of an agent, when followed by *luṅ*. When thus the position is *cor i a t*.

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१ B_1, B_2 D omitted

२ B_1 omitted; V adds ण्यन्तात् श्र्यादिभ्यश्च before this

५१९ **णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः** ॥ ७.४.१ ॥

चङ्परे णौ यदङ्गं तस्योपधाया ह्रस्वः ।

५२० **चङि** ॥ ६.१.११ ॥

अनभ्यासधात्ववयवस्य एकाचः[1] प्रथमस्य द्वे स्तः । अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य ।

५२१ **सन्वल्लघुनि चङ्परेऽनग्लोपे** ॥ ७.४.९३ ॥

चङ्परे णौ यदङ्गं तस्य योऽभ्यासो लघुपरस्तस्य सनीव कार्यं स्यात् णावग्लोपे सति ।

५२२ **दीर्घो लघोः** ॥ ७.४.९४ ॥

519. When *ṇi,* followed by *caṅ,* follows, in the place of the penultimate, a short (vowel). (7.4.1).

In the place of the penultimate, of that base, which is followed by *ṇi* followed by *caṅ,* a short vowel is substituted.

520. When followed by *caṅ* (6.1.11).

In the place of the first monosyllabic portion of an unreduplicated root, two are substituted. In the case of a root beginning with a vowel, (the substitution takes place) in the place of the second (portion).

521. Like *san,* when followed by a short vowel (of a base), followed by *caṅ,* when there is no elision of *ak.* (7.4 93).

Operation, as when followed by *san,* takes place in the case of an *abhyāsa* followed by a short vowel, belonging to a base that obtains before *ṇi* followed by *caṅ,* if before this *ṇi,* a (letter from the *pratyāhāra*) *ak* has not been elided.

522. In the place of a short (vowel), a long (vowel). (7.4.94).

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1 V प्रथमस्य एकाचः

लघोरभ्यासस्य[१] दीर्घः सन्वद्भावविषये। अचूचुरत् अचूचुरत। अचोरयिष्यत् अचोरयिष्यत।

॥ इति दशगणी ॥

५२३ स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता ॥ १.४.५४ ॥
क्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः।

५२४ तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ १.४.५५ ॥
कर्तुः प्रयोजको हेतुसंज्ञः कर्तृसंज्ञश्च।

५२५ हेतुमति च ॥ ३.१.२६ ॥
प्रयोजकव्यापारे प्रेरणादौ वाच्ये धातोर्णिच्। भवन्तं प्रेरयति भावयति।

In the place of a short (vowel) belonging to the *abhyāsa,* a long (vowel, is substituted) in a case which is like *san. acūcurat, acūcurata, acorayiṣyat, acorayiṣyata.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *daśagaṇī.*

523. Independent, agent (1.4.54).

The matter, which is intended to be stated as being independent as regards the action, (is designated *kartṛ*).

524. And what actuates him (is designated) *hetu* also (1.4.55).

What actuates the agent has the designation *hetu* and also *kartṛ.*

525. And in the sense of the *hetumat* (3.1.26).

In the case of a root, the suffix *ṇic* (is appended) when the activity of the actuator, (namely) actuating etc., is intended to be expressed. *bhāvayati* = (*bhavantam*) *prerayati.*

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१ B_1 From here upto गुणो: यङ्लुकोः। अभ्यासस्य omitted

५२६ ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे ॥ ७.४.८० ॥

सनि परे यदङ्गं तदवयवाभ्यास[1]स्योतः इः स्यात् पवर्गयणजकारेषु अवर्णपरेषु परतः । अबीभवत् ।

॥ इति हेतुमण्ण्यन्तप्रक्रिया[2] ॥

५२७ धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ३.१.७ ॥

इषिकर्मणो धातोः इषिणैककर्तृकात् सन् वा इच्छायाम् ।
पठ व्यक्तायां वाचि । इट् ।

526. In the place of *u,* when followed by *pu, yaṇ* or *j,* (themselves) followed by *a*. (7.4.80).

In the place of *u,* belonging to the *abhyāsa,* forming part of the *aṅga* which is followed by *san, i* is substituted when followed by (a letter of the) *pavarga, yaṇ,* or the letter *j,* (which themselves are) followed by the letter *a. abībhavat.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *hetumaṇṇyanta prakriyā.*

527. After a root, having the same agent as the act (of wishing), in the sense of wishing, optionally (3.1.7).

After a root, forming the object of √*iṣ*, and having the same agent as √*iṣ, san* is optionally appended, to express the act of wishing.

√*paṭh* = to recite clearly. *iṭ*

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१ B_2 °भ्यासोतः

२ D, V No colophon

५२८ सन्यङोः ॥ ६.१.९ ॥

सनन्तस्य यङन्तस्य च प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे स्तः । अजादेस्तु द्वितीयस्य ।

५२९ सन्यतः ॥ ७.४.७९ ॥

अभ्यासस्यात इत् सनि । पठितुमिच्छति पिपठिषति । कर्मणः किम् । गमनेनेच्छति । समानकर्तृकात् किम् । शिष्याः पठन्तु इति इच्छति गुरुः ।

॥ इति सन्नन्तप्रक्रिया[१] ॥

५३० धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ ३.१.२२ ॥

पौनःपुन्ये भृशार्थे च द्योत्ये ।

528. In the case of *san* and *yaṅ* (6.1.9).

In the case of a base ending in *san* or in *yaṅ*, in the place of the first monosyllabic portion, two are substituted. In the case of a root beginning with a vowel, (this occurs) in the place of the second (portion).

529. When followed by *san*, in the place of *at* (7.4.79).

In the place of *a* of the *abhyāsa*, *i* short (is substituted), when followed by *san*. *paṭhitum icchati* = *pipaṭhiṣati*. Why say *karmaṇaḥ?* (The answer may be found in statements like) *gamanena icchati*. Why say *samānakartṛkāt?* (The answer may be found in statements like) *śiṣyāḥ paṭhantu iti icchati guruḥ*.

Thus ends the *sannant* section.

530. After a monosyllabic root beginning with a consonant, in the sense of repetition or intensity of an act, *yaṅ* (3.1.22).

When repetition or intensity is to be indicated.

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१ D, V No colophon

५३१ गुणो यङ्लुकोः ॥ ७.४.८२ ॥
अभ्यासस्य । पुनः पुनरतिशयेन वा भवति बोभूयते ।

॥ **इति यङन्तप्रक्रिया**[१] ॥

५३२ सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ३.१.८ ॥
इषिकर्मण[२] एषितुरात्मसम्बन्धिनः सुबन्तात् इच्छायां क्यज्वा ।

५३३ सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ २.४.७१ ॥
एतयोरवयवस्य सुपो लुक् ।

५३४ क्यचि च ॥ ७.४.३३ ॥
अवर्णस्य ई । आत्मनः पुत्रमिच्छति पुत्रीयति ।

॥ **इति नामधातुप्रक्रिया**[३] ॥

531. *guṇa,* when followed by *yaṅ* or *luk.* (7.4.82).
(is substituted) in the place of *abhyāsa. bobhūyate* means *punaḥ punar, atiśayena vā, bhavati.*

Thus ends the *yaṅanta* section.

532. After a *sup,* pertaining to oneself, *kyac* (3.1.8).
After a base ending in a (*sup*) case-ending, and signifying the object of desire, pertaining to the desirer himself, (the suffix) *kyac* is optionally appended, in the sense of desire.

533. In the place of a *sup* belonging to a root or to a *prātipadika* (2.4.71).
In the place of a *sup* forming part of these two, elision (is substituted).

534. And when followed by *kyac* (7.4.33).
In the place of the letter *a, ī* (is substituted). Thus *putrīyati* means *ātmanaḥ putram icchati.*

Thus ends the *nāmadhātu* section.

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१ B_1 D, V No colophon

२ B_1 °कर्मणि

३ B_1 D, V No colophon

५३५ कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ ३.१.२७ ॥

एभ्यो[1] धातुभ्यो नित्यं यक् स्वार्थे। कण्डूञ् गात्रविघर्षणे। कण्डूयति[2] कण्डूयते इत्यादि।

५३६ कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे ॥ १.३.१४ ॥

क्रियाविनिमये द्योत्ये कर्तरि आत्मनेपदम्। व्यतिलुनीते। अन्यस्य योग्यं लवनं करोतीत्यर्थः।

॥ इति कण्ड्वादिः[3] ॥

५३७ भावकर्मणोः ॥ १.३.१३ ॥

लस्यात्मनेपदम्।

५३८ सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ३.१.६७ ॥

535. After *kaṇḍū* etc. *yak* (3.1.27).

After these roots, necessarily *yak* (is appended) in its original sense. √*kaṇḍū* = to scratch. *kaṇḍūyati, kaṇḍūyate* etc.

536. In the sense of the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be indicated (1.3.14).

When reciprocity of action is to be indicated, in the sense of the agent, *ātmanepada* (endings) are used. *vyatilunīte*, which means: he performs teh act of mowing, appropriate for *anya* (some one else).

Thus ends the *kaṇḍvādi* section.

537. In the sense of *bhāva* or *karma* (1.3.13)

In the place of *la*, *ātmanepada* (is substituted).

538. When followed by *sārvadhātuka* (endings), *yak* (3.1.67).

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१ B_2 omitted

२ D omitted

३ B_1 D, V No colophon

धातोर्यक् भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके। भावः क्रिया। सा च भावार्थकलकारेणानूद्यते। युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां [1]सामानाधिकरण्याभावात् प्रथमपुरुषः। तिङ्वाच्यक्रियाया अद्रव्यरूपत्वेन द्वित्वाद्यप्रवृत्तेर्न द्विवचनादि। किं तु एकवचनमेवोत्सर्गतः। त्वया मया अन्यैश्च भूयते। बभूवे।

५३९ स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशऽज्झनग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥ ६.४.६२ ॥

उपदेशे योऽच् तदन्तानां हनादीनां च चिणीवाङ्गकार्यं वा स्यात्। स्यादिषु भावकर्मणोर्गम्यमानयोः। स्यादीनामिडागमश्च। चिण्वद्भाव-

After a root, *yak* (is appended) when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* ending expressive of *bhāva* or act. *Bhāva* means act. It is stated by the *lakāra* which has the sense of *bhāva*. It has the *prathama puruṣa* (endings) only, owing to the absence of (its) agreement with *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Nor (can it have) the dual etc. owing to non-applicability of duality etc. (to the *kriyā*), since the *kriyā*, which is denoted by the *tiṅ*, is not of the nature of a *dravya*. On the contrary, it has singular number invariably. *tvayā mayā anyaiś ca bhūyate, babhūve.*

539. When *sya, sic, sīyuṭ,* and *tāsi* follow, conveying the sense of *bhāva* or *karma,* the roots ending in a vowel in *upadeśa,* and the roots *han, grah* and *dṛś,* are optionally like *ciṇ,* and take *iṭ* (6.4.62).

In the case of roots ending in a vowel in the *upadeśa,* and in the case √*han* (√*grah,* and √*dṛś*), operation on the *aṅga* occurs optionally as before *ciṇ,* when followed by *sya* etc. and, when *bhāva* or *karma* are indicated thereby. And in the case of *sya* etc., the augment *iṭ* is appended). This *iṭ* (is

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१ B_1, B_2 समान्तनाधिकरणा°

ऽक्षेऽयमिट्। चिण्वद्भावात् वृद्धिः। भाविता भविता। [1]भाविष्यते भविष्यते[2]। भूयताम् अभूयत भूयेत भाविषीष्ट भविषीष्ट।

५४० चिण् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ३.१.६६ ॥

च्लेः चिण् भावकर्मवाचिनि ते परे। अभावि अभाविष्यत[3] अभविष्यत। अकर्मकोऽपि उपसर्गवशात् सकर्मकः। अनुभूयते[4] आनन्दश्चैत्रेण त्वया मया च। अनुभूयेते अनुभूयन्ते। त्वमनुभूयसे। अहमनुभूये। अन्वभाविषाताम् अन्वभविषाताम्।

॥ इतिभावकर्मप्रक्रिया[5] ॥

॥ इति तिङन्तम्[6] ॥

appended) in the alternative, where operation takes place as before *ciṇ*. Owing to *ciṇvadbhāva*, *vṛddhi* (is substituted). *bhāvitā, bhavitā, bhāviṣyate, bhaviṣyate; bhūyatām, abhūyata, bhūyeta, bhāviṣīṣṭa, bhaviṣīṣṭa.*

540. *ciṇ*, when followed by (*ta* in the sense of) *bhāva* or *karman* (3.1.66).

In the place of *cli*, *ciṇ* (is substituted), when followed by the ending *ta* signifying *bhāva* or *karman*. *abhāvi, abhāviṣyata, abhaviṣyata*. Even an intransitive (root) becomes transitive by the force of a prefix. *anubhūyate ānandaś caitreṇa tvayā mayā ca. anubhūyete, anubhūyante; tvam anubhūyase, aham anubhūye; anvabhāviṣātām, anvabhaviṣātām.*

Thus ends the *bhāvakarma* section.

Thus ends (the section on) the *tiṅanta prakriyā*.

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१ B_1 omitted २ B_2 D omitted

३ D. V. अभविष्यत omitted

४ B_2 अनुभूयते at the end of the sentence

५ B_1, D, V This colophon not found

६ V adds समाप्तम् after न्तम्

॥ अथ कृदन्तम् ॥

५४१ धातोः ॥ ३.१.९१ ॥

आतृतीयाध्यायान्तं ये प्रत्ययास्ते धातोः[१] स्युः ।

५४२ वासरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ३.१.९४ ॥

अस्मिन् धात्वधिकारे असरूपोऽपवादप्रत्यय[२] उत्सर्गस्य वा बाधकः । स्त्र्यधिकारोक्तं विना ।

५४३ कृत्याः[३] ॥ ३.१.९५ ॥

ण्वुल्तृचौ (३.१.१३३) इत्यतः प्राक् कृत्यसंज्ञाः स्युः ।

५४४ कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ३.४.६७ ॥

इति प्राप्ते ।

541. After a root (3.1.91).

The suffixes, which are enjoined (from this *sūtra*) upto the end of the third chapter, are to be appended to a root.

542. Optionally, non-similar, other than feminine (3.1.94).

In this section dealing with *dhātu*, a non-similar suffix (forming) an exception, is optionally sublative of the general suffix, excepting the one mentioned in the topic of the feminine gender.

543. *kṛtyas* (3.1.95).

Suffixes enjoined upto (and excluding) the *sūtra, ṇvultṛcau* are designated *kṛtya*.

544. In the sense of an agent, *kṛt* (3.4.67).

In this position,

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१ V °तोः परे

२ B_1, B_2, D °प्रत्ययोत्सर्गस्य

३ V adds प्राङ् ण्वुलः

५४५ तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः ॥ ३.४.७० ॥

एते भावकर्मणोरेव स्युः ।

५४६ तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ३.१.९६ ॥

धातोरेते स्युः । एधितव्यम् एधनीयं त्वया । [१]भावे [२]चौत्सर्गिकमेकवचनं क्लीवत्वं च । चिञ् चयने । चेतव्यश्चयनीयो वा धर्मस्त्वया ।

५४७ अचो यत् ॥ ३.१.९७ ॥

चेयम् ।

५४८ ईद्यति ॥ ६.४.६५ ॥

आतः । गुणः । देयम् ।

545. In those very senses, *kṛtya, kta* and *khalartha* (3.4.70).

These (suffixes) are appended (to roots) to signify *bhāva* and *karma* only.

546. *tavyat, tavya* and *anīyar* (3.1.96).

After a root, these (suffixes) are appended. *edhitavyam, edhanīyam tvayā*. When *bhāva* is to be conveyed, singular number and neuter gender is the rule. √*ci* = to collect. *cetavyaś cayanīyo vā dharmas tvayā*.

547. After a vowel, *yat* (3.1.97).

ceyam.

548. *īt*, when followed by *yat* (6.4.65).

(is substituted) in the place of *ā*; (then) *guṇa* (is substituted). *deyam*.

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१ D, V औत्स°

२ B_2 भावे चौत्सर्गिक.........धर्मस्त्वया omitted

५४९ एतिस्तुशास्वृदृजुषः क्यप् ॥ ३.१.१०९ ॥

५५० ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ६.१.७० ॥

इत्यः । स्तुत्यः । शासु अनुशिष्टौ ।

५५१ शास इत् अङ्हलोः ॥ ६.४.३४ ॥

शास उपधायाः इः स्यात् अङि हलादौ क्ङिति । शिष्यः । वृत्यः आदृत्यः जुष्यः ।

५५२ ऋहलोर्ण्यत् ॥ ३.१.१२४ ॥

ऋवर्णान्तात् हलन्ताच्च ण्यत् ।

५५३ चजोः कु घिण्ण्यतोः ॥ ७.३.५२ ॥

चजोः कुत्वं स्यात् घिति ण्यति च ।

549. After the roots *i, stu, śās, vṛ, dṛ* and *juṣ, kyap* (3.1.109).

550. In the case of a short (vowel), when followed by a *kṛt* suffix with indicatory *p, tuk* (6.1.70).

ityaḥ, stutyaḥ. √*śās* = to govern.

551. In the place of *śās, it,* when followed by *aṅ* or *hal.* (6.4.34).

In the place of the penultimate of √*śās, i* (short) is (substituted), when followed by *aṅ* or a consonantal ending having indicatory *k* or *ṅ. śiṣyaḥ, vṛtyaḥ, ādṛtyaḥ, juṣyaḥ.*

552. After *ṛ* and *hal, ṇyat* (3.1.124).

After (a root) ending in the letter *ṛ* or in a consonant, the suffix *ṇyat* (is appended).

553. In the place of *c* and *j, ku,* when followed by a *ghit* (suffix) or by *ṇyat* (7.3.52).

In the place of *c* and *j, ku* is substituted, when followed by a suffix with an indicatory *gh* or by *ṇyat.*

५५४ **निष्ठायामनिट इति वाच्यम् ॥**
तेनेह न । गर्ज्यम् ।

५५५ **मृजेर्वृद्धिः** ॥ ७.२.११४ ॥
मृजेरिको वृद्धिः धातुप्रत्यये । मार्ग्यः ।

५५६ **भोज्यं भक्ष्ये** ॥ ७.३.६९ ॥
भोग्यमन्यत् ।

५५७ **ण्वुल्तृचौ** ॥ ३.१.१३३ ॥
धातोरेतौ स्तः । कर्तरि कृत् इति कर्त्रर्थे ।

५५८ **युवोरनाकौ** ॥ ७,१.१ ॥
एतयोरनुनासिकयोरेतौ स्तः । कारकः कर्ता ।

554. It must be stated (that *kutva* takes place) in the case of (a root) which does not take *iṭ*, when followed by *niṣṭhā*.

Hence it does not take place here (that is, in) *garjyam*.

555. In the place of √*mṛj*, *vṛddhi* (7.2.114).
In the place of *ik* belonging to √*mṛj*, *vṛddhi* is substituted, when followed by a verbal suffix. *mārgyaḥ*.

556. *bhojya* in the sense of eatable (7.3.69).

bhogya is different.

557. *ṇvul* and *tṛc* (3.1.133).

After a root these (suffixes) are appended, in the sense of an agent, according to (the rule) *kartari kṛt*.

558. In the place of *yu* and *vu*, *ana* and *aka* (7.1.1).

In the place of these (suffixes), when nasal, these are substituted. *kārakaḥ*, *kartā*.

५५९ नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ॥ ३.१.१३४ ॥

नन्द्यादेः ल्युः ग्रह्यादेः णिनिः पचादेः अच् स्यात् । नन्दयतीति नन्दनः । जनार्दनः लवणः । ग्राही[1] स्थायी मन्त्री । पचः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ।

५६० मूलविभुजादिभ्यः कः ॥

मूलानि विभुजति मूलविभुजो रथः । महीध्रः । कुध्रः ।

५६१ तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ३.१.९२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते पदे कर्मणीत्यादौ[2] वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्वाचकमुपपदसंज्ञम् ।

559. After $\sqrt{}$*nand* etc., $\sqrt{}$*grah* etc. and $\sqrt{}$*pac* etc., *lyu, ṇini* and *ac* (3.1.134).

After $\sqrt{}$*nand* etc., (the suffix) *lyu* (is appended); after $\sqrt{}$*grah* etc., *ṇini;* and after $\sqrt{}$*pac etc., ac. nandayati iti nandanaḥ; janārdanaḥ, lavaṇaḥ; grāhī, sthāyī, mantrī; pacaḥ.* This is an *ākṛtigaṇa.*

560. After *mūlavibhuja* etc., *ka.*

mūlāni vibhujati = *mūlavibhujo rathaḥ. mahīdhraḥ, kudhraḥ.*

561. There, (the word) standing in the locative (is designated) *upapada.* (3.1.92).

upapada is the designation of a word expressive of the matter such as *kumbha* etc. which occurs as the significate of the expression *karmaṇi* etc. which, in rules like *karmaṇy aṇ* etc., has the locative ending.

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१ B_1 ग्रही

२ D, कर्मण्यणी यादौ; V कर्मणीत्यादौ .... पदसंज्ञम् omitted

५६२ **कर्मण्यण्** ॥ ३.२.१ ॥
कर्मणि उपपदे धातोरण् । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः ।

५६३ **आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः** ॥ ३.२.३ ॥
गोदः । कम्बलदः ।

५६४ **क्विप् च** ॥ ३.२.७६ ॥
धातोर्दृश्यते । पर्णध्वत् ।

५६५ **क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा** ॥ १.१.२६ ॥
[1]एतौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ स्तः ।

५६६ **निष्ठा** ॥ ३.२.१०२ ॥
भूतार्थवृत्तेर्धातोः । स्नातं मया । स्तुतस्त्वया विष्णुः । विश्वं कृतवान् ।

562. When the object (is an *upapada*), *aṇ* (3.2.1).

When the object is an *upapada* of a root, the root has the suffix *aṇ* (appended to it). *kumbhaṁ karoti iti kumbhakāraḥ*.

563. After *ā*, not having a prefix, *ka* (3.2.3).
godaḥ, kambaladaḥ.

564. And *kvip* (3.2.76).

is seen (appended) to a root. *parṇadhvat*.

565. *kta* and *ktavatu* (are designated) *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26).
These two (suffixes) are designated *niṣṭhā*.

566. *niṣṭhā* (3.2.102),
(is appended) to a root, standing in the sense of a matter of the past. *snātaṁ mayā; stutas tvayā viṣṇuḥ; viśvaṁ kṛtavān*.

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१ B_1, V एतौ.........निष्ठा । omitted

५६७ **कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥**

करोतीति कारुः ।

५६८ [1]**आतो युक् चिण्कृतोः ॥ ७.३.३३ ॥**

वायुः । पायुः गुदम् । जायुरौषधम् । मायुः पित्तम् । स्वादुः । साधुः । आशु शीघ्रम् ।

५६९ **उणादयो बहुलम् ॥ ३.३.१ ॥**

एते वर्तमाने संज्ञायां स्युः । केचिदविहिता अप्यूह्याः ।

संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।

567. After (the roots) *kṛ, vā, pā, ji, mi, svad, sādh,* and *aś*, *uṇ*.

karoti iti kāruḥ.

568. After (a root ending in) *ā*, *yuk*, when followed by *ciṇ* or *kṛt*. (7.3.33).

vāyuḥ; pāyuḥ = gudam; jāyuḥ = auṣadham; māyuḥ = pittam; svāduḥ; sādhuḥ; āśu=śīghram.

569. *Uṇ* etc., diversely (3.3.1)

These suffixes (are appended to roots) in the sense of the present tense, and of a *saṁjñā*. Some, not enjoined here, also, should be understood (as indicated).

In the *saṁjñā* words, (after finding) the forms of roots, and the suffixes (coming) after them, on the basis of the

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१ B_1, D *sūtra* omitted

कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥

५७० तुमुन्ण्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ ३.३.१० ॥

क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोरेतौ स्तः । कृष्णं द्रष्टुं याति । कृष्णं दर्शको याति ।

५७१ भावे ॥ ३.३.१८ ॥

सिद्धावस्थापन्ने धात्वर्थे वाच्ये धातोर्घञ् । पाकः ।

५७२ एरच् ॥ ३.३.५६ ॥

चयः ।

operation (that has taken place), the indicatory letter (of the suffix) should be fixed up—this is the method as regards the *uṇādi* suffixes.

570. (The suffixes) *tumun* and *ṇvul,* when an action (performed) for the sake of (another) action (is an *upapada*). (3. 3.10).

When an action (performed) for the sake of (another) action is an *upapada,* to a root these two (suffixes) are appended. *kṛṣṇaṁ draṣṭuṁ yāti; kṛṣṇaṁ darśako yāti.*

571. In the sense of *bhāva* (3.3.18).

When the sense of the root, that has reached the state of accomplishment, is to be expressed, after a root, *ghañ* is appended. *pākaḥ.*

572. After *i, ac* (3.3.56).

cayaḥ.

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१ B[1] omitted

५७३ ऋदोरप् ॥ ३.३.५७ ॥

कर: । यव: । लव:[१]।

५७४ स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ३.३.९४ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावादौ क्तिन् । घञोऽपवादः । कृतिः स्तुतिः ।

५७५ समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ ३.४.२१ ॥

समानकर्तृकयोः धात्वर्थयोः पूर्वकाले विद्यमानात् धातोः भावे क्त्वा। भुक्त्वा व्रजति । द्वित्वमतन्त्रम्[१] । स्नात्वा भुक्त्वा पीत्वा व्रजति ।

५७६ समासेऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वो ल्यप् ॥ ७.१.३७ ॥

573. After *ṛ* (short) and *u*, *ap* (3.3.57).

karaḥ, *yavaḥ*, *lavaḥ*.

574. In the sense of feminine, *ktin* (3.3.94).

In the sense of a *bhāva* etc. in the feminine gender, (the suffix) *ktin* (is appended). (This is an) exception to (the suffix) *ghañ*. *kṛtiḥ*, *stutiḥ*.

575. (To the root) denoting (an act occurring at) an earlier time, out of the two (acts) that have the same agent. (3.4.21).

After a root standing in the sense of the earlier one among the two acts (*dhātvartha*) having the same agent, the suffix *ktvā* is appended, in the sense of *bhāva*. *bhuktvā vrajati*. The duality (here) is not obligatory. *snātvā bhuktvā pītvā vrajati*.

576. In a compound, not having *nañ* as the first member, in the place of *ktvā*, *lyap* (7.1.37).

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१ B_1 omitted

अव्ययपूर्वपदेऽनञ्समासे क्त्वो ल्यबादेशः । तुक् । प्रकृत्य ।

५७७ आभीक्ष्ण्ये णमुल् च ॥ ३.४.२२ ॥

पौनःपुन्ये द्योत्ये क्त्वाविषये णमुल् क्त्वा च ।

५७८ नित्यवीप्सयोः ॥ ८.१.४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्ये वीप्सायां च द्योत्ये पदस्य द्वित्वं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं तिङन्तेषु अव्ययसंज्ञक[१]कृदन्तेषु च । स्मारं स्मारं नमति शिवम् । स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा वा ।

॥ इति कृदन्तम्[२] ॥

In a compound, having an *avyaya* except *nañ* as its first member, in the place of *ktvā, lyap* is substituted. (The augment) *tuk* (is added). *prakṛtya*.

577. In the sense of re-iteration, *ṇamul* also. (3.4.22).

When re-iteration is to be indicated, in the place of *ktvā, ṇamul* (is used). And *ktvā*.

578. In the sense of continualness and succession. (8.1.4).

When continualness and succession are intended, the word is reduplicated. *ābhīkṣṇya* in the case of *tiṅanta* words and *kṛdanta avyayas*. *smāraṁ smāraṁ namati śivam, smṛtvā smṛtvā vā*.

Thus ends (the section on) *kṛdanta*.

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१ D °संज्ञकृदन्तेषु
२ B_1 इति कृत्

(॥ अथ सुबर्थाः ॥)

५७९ प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा ॥ २.३.४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः[१] । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे [२]लिङ्ग-मात्राद्याधिक्ये संख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उच्चैः नीचैः कृष्णः श्रीः ज्ञानम् । लिङ्गमात्रे । तटः तटी तटम् । परिमाणमात्रे[३] । द्रोणो व्रीहिः । वचनं संख्या । एकः द्वौ बहवः ।

५८० सम्बोधने च ॥ २.३.४७ ॥

प्रथमा । हे राम ।

579. In the sense of merely the *prātipadikārtha, liṅga, parimāṇa*, and *vacana, prathamā* (2.3.46).

prātipadikārtha is that meaning which is invariably present. In the sense of mere *prātipadikārtha*, in the sense of gender etc. in addition, and in the sense of mere number, *prathamā* (is used). *uccaiḥ, nīcaiḥ, kṛṣṇaḥ, śrīḥ, jñānam*. In (the sense of) mere gender: *taṭaḥ, taṭī, taṭam;* in the sense of mere *parimāṇa: droṇo vrīhiḥ. vacana* means *saṁkhyā* (number) *ekaḥ, dvau, bahavaḥ*.

580. And in the sense of address. (2.3.47).

prathamā (is used). *he rāma*.

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१ B_2 **omitted**

२ B_1 लिङ्गमात्राद्या..........ज्ञानम् omitted

३ B_2 V omitted

५८१ **कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ १.४.४९ ॥**

कर्तुः क्रियया आप्तुमिष्टतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञम् ।

५८२ **कर्मणि द्वितीया ॥ २.३.२ ॥**

अनुक्ते । हरिं भजति । अभिहिते तु कर्मादौ प्रथमा । हरिः सेव्यते । लक्ष्म्या सेवितः ।

५८३ **साधकतमं करणम् ॥ १.४.४२ ॥**

क्रिया[1]सिद्धौ प्रकृष्टोपकारकं करणं स्यात् ।

५८४ **कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया ॥ २.३.१८ ॥**

अनुक्ते । रामेण बाणेन हतो वाली ।

581. That, which is the most desired (object) of the agent, (is designated) *karma*. (1.4.49).

The *kāraka,* which is the most desired object to be obtained by the agent by an *act,* is designated *karma.*

582. In the sense of the object, accusative (2.3.2).

When (the object) is not (otherwise) stated. *hariṁ bhajati.* When, however, the object etc. is (otherwise) stated, nominative (is used). *hariḥ sevyate, lakṣmyā sevitaḥ.*

583. That, which is the most efficient, (is designated) *karaṇa* (1.4.42).

That (*kāraka*), which is the most conducive to the accomplishment of an act, is (designated) *karaṇa.*

584. In the sense of the agent and of the *karaṇa,* instrumental. (2.3.18).

When not (otherwise) stated. *rāmeṇa bāṇena hato vālī.*

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१ V क्रियायाः

५८५ कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् ॥ १.४.३२ ॥
दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानसंज्ञः ।

५८६ चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने ॥ २.३.१३ ॥
अनुक्ते । विप्राय गां ददाति ।

५८७ ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् ॥ १.४.२४ ॥
अपायो विश्लेषः । तस्मिन् साध्येऽवधिभूतमपादानम् ।

५८८ अपादाने पञ्चमी ॥ २.३.२८ ॥
ग्रामादायाति । धावतोऽश्वात् पतति ।

५८९ षष्ठी शेषे ॥ २.३.५० ॥

585. That, which one aims at by the object, (is designated) *sampradāna*. (1.4.32).

That, whom one intends (to connect) with the object of the act of giving, is designated *sampradāna*.

586. In the sense of *sampradāna*, dative (2.3.13).

When not (otherwise) stated. *viprāya gāṁ dadāti.*

587. That, which is firm when there is seperation, is (designated) *apādāna* (1.4.24).

apāya means separation. When that is to be accomplished, that which serves as the limit (i.e. the starting point) is *apādāna.*

588. In the sense of *apādāna*, ablative (2.3.28).

grāmād āyāti; dhāvato'śvāt patati.

589. Genitive, in the remaining (senses). (2.3.50).

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्तः स्वस्वामिभावादिः शेषः। तत्र षष्ठी। राज्ञः पुरुषः। कर्मादीनामपि सम्बन्धमात्र¹विवक्षायां षष्ठ्येव। सतां गतम्। सर्पिषो जानीते। मातुः स्मरति। एधो दकस्योपस्कुरुते। भजे शम्भोश्चरणयोः। फलानां तृप्तः।

५९० कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति ॥ २.३.६५ ॥

कृद्योगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी। कृष्णस्य कृतिः। जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः।

५९१ आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ १.४.४५ ॥

कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियायाः।

śeṣa means the sense such as the owner and the owned, etc., distinct and separate from the senses conveyed by the *kārakas* and the *prātipadika*. In that (sense), genitive (is used). *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*. In the case of *karma* etc. also, when mere *sambandha* is intended to be expressed, genitive alone (is used). *satām gatam; sarpiṣo jānīte; mātuḥ smarati; edho dakasyopaskurute; bhaje śambhoś caraṇayoḥ; phalānāṁ tṛptaḥ.*

590. In the sense of the agent and the object, when followed by *kṛt* (2.3.65).

When connected with a *kṛt* (formation), in the sense of the agent or the object, genitive is used. *kṛṣṇasya kṛtiḥ, jagataḥ kartā kṛṣṇaḥ.*

591. Substratum (is designated) *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45).

(Substratum) of the action pertaining to the agent or the object, through the agent or the object.

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१ B_2 सम्बन्धानिव°

५९२ सप्तम्यधिकरणे च ॥ २.३.३६ ॥

चात् दूरान्तिकेभ्यः । औपश्लेषिको वैषयिको[1]ऽभिव्यापकश्चेत्याधारस्त्रिधा । कटे आस्ते । स्थाल्यां पचति । मोक्षे इच्छास्ति । सर्वस्मिन्नात्मास्ति । वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा ।

॥ इति सुबर्थाः ॥

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592. And in the sense of the *adhikaraṇa,* the locative (2.3.36).

By the force of *ca,* after (words) having the senses *dūra* (far off) and *antika* (near). A substratum is of three kinds, namely (actually) contiguous, (figuratively) objective, and co-extensive. *kaṭe āste, sthālyāṁ pacati, mokṣe icchāsti, sarvasminnātmāsti. vanasya dūre antike vā.*

Here ends the (section on) *subartha.*

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१ B_1 वैशेषिको

(॥ अथ समासाः ॥)

समासः पञ्चधा । स च विशेषसंज्ञाविनिर्मुक्तः केवलसमासः प्रथमः । प्रायेण पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभावो द्वितीयः । प्रायेणोत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषस्तृतीयः । तत्पुरुषभेदः कर्मधारयः । कर्मधारयभेदो द्विगुः । प्रायेणान्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिश्चतुर्थः । प्रायेणोभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्वः पञ्चमः ।

५९३ समर्थः पदविधिः ॥ २.१.१ ॥

पदसम्बन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थाश्रितो बोध्यः ।

५९४ प्राक् कडारात् समासः ॥ २.१.३ ॥

Compounds are of five varieties. That, which has not any particular designation, is the first (veriety designated) the *kevalasamāsa*. That, in which, as a general rule, the sense of the first member is prominent, is the second (variety, designated) the *avyayībhāva*. That, in which, as a general rule, the sense of the latter member is prominent, is the third (variety, designated) the *tatpuruṣa*. *karmadhāraya* is a (sub-)variety of the *tatpuruṣa;* and *dvigu* is a (sub-)variety of the *karmadhāraya*. That, in which, as a general rule, the sense of a word other (than those in the compound) is prominent, is the fourth (variety, designated) the *bahuvrīhi*. That, in which, as a general rule, the sense of both the members is prominent, is the fifth (variety, designated) *dvandva*.

593. A rule, pertaining to a *pada*, is *samartha* (2.1.1).

A rule, which pertains to a *pada*, should be understood as pertaining to competent (words).

594. Prior to *kaḍāra*, *samāsa* (2.1.3).

कडाराः कर्मधारये (२.२.३८) इत्यतः प्राक् समास इत्यधिक्रियते ।

५९५ सह सुपा ॥ २.१.४ ॥

सुप् सुपा सह वा[1] समस्यते । समासत्वात् प्रातिपदिकत्वे[2] सुपो[3] लुक् । पूर्वं भूतो भूतपूर्वः चरट् (५.३.५३) इति निर्देशात् पूर्वनिपातः ।

५९६ इवेन[4] समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ॥

वागर्थौ इव । वागर्थाविव ।

॥ इति केवलः ॥

Prior to the rule *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*, *samāsa* is made the topic.

595. With a *sup* (2.1.4).

A *sup* is optionally compounded with a *sup*. Because it is a *samāsa*, (the compound word) becomes a *prātipadika;* and hence, the case-ending is elided. *pūrvaṁ bhūtaḥ* = *bhūtapūrvaḥ*. Here (the word *bhūta*) is placed first on the strength of the mention (made by *Pāṇini*) in the rule *bhūtapūrve caraṭ*.

596. With *iva*, a compound (is formed), and there is non-elision of the case-ending (of the other word).

vāgarthau iva, vāgarthāviva.

Thus ends (the section on) the *kevala* compound.

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१ D, V omitted

२ B_1 °कत्वेन B_2 कत्वात

३ B_1 सुब्लुक्

४ V. D. read वा after इवेन

५९७ **अव्ययीभावः**[१] ॥ २.१.५ ॥

अधिकारः प्राक् तत्पुरुषात् ।

५९८ **अव्यय विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसम्पत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु** ॥ २.१.६ ॥

विभक्त्यर्थादिषु[२] वर्तमानमव्ययं सुबन्तेन सह नित्यं समस्यते। अविग्रहो नित्यसमासः । अस्वपदविग्रहो वा । विभक्तौ हरि ङि अधि इति स्थिते ।

५९९ **प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम्** ॥ १.२.४३ ॥

समासशास्त्रे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमुपसर्जनम् स्यात् ।

597. *Avyayībhāva* (2.1.5),

forms the topic, prior to *tatpuruṣa*.

598. An indeclinable, in the senses of a *vibhakti, samīpa, samṛddhi, vyṛddhi, arthābhāva, atyaya, asamprati, śabdaprādurbhāva, paścāt, yathā, ānupūrvya, yaugapadya, sādṛśya, sampatti, sākalya*, and *anta* (2.1.6).

An indeclinable standing in the sense of case-ending etc. is invariably compounded with a word having a case-ending. That, which has no dissolution, is (designated) *nitya* compound. Or that, which has no dissolution with its own members. (Illustration of an indeclinable) in the sense of a *vibhakti*: *hari ṅi adhi*, when this is the position,

599. That, which is mentioned in the nominative in a compound, is (designated) *upasarjana* (1.2.43).

In the rule laying down a *samāsa*, that, which is mentioned in the nominative, is (designated) *upasarjana*.

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१ B_1 omitted

२ B_2, omitted

६०० **उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्** ॥ २.२.३० ॥
समासे । इति अधेः प्राक् प्रयोगः ।

६०१ **अव्ययीभावश्च** ॥ २.४.१८ ॥
अव्ययं स्यात् । सुब्लुक् । [1]हरौ इति अधिहरि ।

६०२ **नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः** ॥ २.४.८३ ॥
अदन्ता[2]दव्ययीभावात् सुपो न लुक् । तस्य पञ्चमीं विना अमादेशश्च । कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम् ।

६०३ **तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम्** ॥ २.४.८४ ॥
अदन्तादव्ययीभावात् । उपकृष्णम् उपकृष्णेन उपकृष्णे ।

600. *upasarjana,* first (2.2.30).

In a compound. Hence *adhi* is placed first.

601. And *avyayībhāva* (2.4.18),

is an indeclinable. Hence the elision of *sup. harau iti adhihari.*

602. Not after an *avyayībhāva* ending in *a;* but *am,* except in the case of the ablative. (2.4.83).

After an *avyayībhāva* ending in *a,* there is no elision (in the place) of a case-ending; and in the place of it, except that of the ablative, *am* is substituted. *kṛṣṇasya samīpam* = *upakṛṣṇam.*

603. In the place of the instrumental and the locative, diversely, (2.4.84).

After an *avyayībhāva* ending in *a. upakṛṣṇam, upakṛṣṇena, upakṛṣṇe*

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१ D हरौ इति·········सुपो न लुक् । omitted

२ B_1 °न्ताव्ययी°

मद्राणां समृद्धिः सुमद्रम् । यवनानां व्यृद्धिर्दुर्यवनम् ।

६०४ एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ १.२.४४ ॥

विग्रहे यन्नियतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनम् । न तु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ।

६०५ गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ १.२.४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तद तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः । मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम् ।

हिमस्यात्ययो अतिहिमम् । निद्रा सम्प्रति न युज्यते अतिनिद्रम् । हरिशब्दस्य प्रकाशः[1] इतिहरि[2] । विष्णोः पश्चात् अनुविष्णु ।

madrāṇāṁ samṛddhiḥ sumadram. yavanānāṁ vyṛddhiḥ duryavanam.

604. And that which has one fixed *vibhakti*, except for *pūrvanipāta* (standing first) (1.2.44).

That, which stands in a fixed *vibhakti* in the dissolution, is (designated) *upasarjana*. But it is not placed first (in the compound).

605. In the case of *go* and of feminine words, when *upasarjana*. (1.2.48).

A short (vowel) is substituted in the place of a *prātipadika*, which ends in the word *go* or a word ending in a feminine suffix, when it is an *upasarjana*. *makṣikāṇām abhāvo nirmakṣikam;*

himasya atyayaḥ atihimam; nidrā samprati na yujyate atinidram; hariśabdasya prakāśaḥ itihari; viṣṇoḥ paścāt anuviṣṇu.

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१ B_2 प्रादुर्भाव added before प्रकाशः

२ B_1, B_2, D read इतिहरि only; and V also has अति added by the scribe marginally to be inserted between इति and हरि

योग्यता[1]वीप्सापदार्थानतिवृत्तिसादृश्यानि यथार्थाः । रूपस्य योग्यम् अनुरूपम् । अर्थमर्थं प्रति प्रत्यर्थम् । शक्तिमनतिक्रम्य यथाशक्ति ।

६०६ अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ६.३.८० ॥

सहस्य सः । हरेः सादृश्यं सहरि । काले तु सहपूर्वाह्णम् ।

ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येण इति अनुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण युगपत् सचक्रम् । सदृशः सख्या ससखि । क्षत्राणां सम्पत्तिः सक्षत्रम् । तृणमप्यपरित्यज्य सतृणम् अत्ति । अग्निग्रन्थपर्यन्तमधीते साग्नि ।

६०७ तद्धिताः ॥ ४.१.७६ ॥

आपञ्चमसमाप्तेरधिकारः ।

Worthiness, repetition, non-transgression of something, and likeness are the senses of *yathā*. *rūpasya yogyam anurūpam; artham artham prati pratyartham; śaktim anatikramya yathāśakti.*

606. In the case of an *avyayībhāva,* when not in the sense of time (6.3.80).

In the place of *saha, sa* (is substituted). *hareḥ sādṛśyaṁ sahari;* but when time is to be conveyed, (*saha* is not changed to *sa*). *sahapūrvāhṇam.*

jyeṣṭhasyānupūrvyeṇa iti anujyeṣṭham. cakreṇa yugapat sacakram.

sadṛśaḥ sakhyā sasakhi; kṣattrāṇāṁ sampattiḥ sakṣattram; tṛṇam apyaparityajya satṛṇam atti; agnigranthaparyantam adhīte sāgni.

607. *taddhitas* (4.1.76),

(form) the topic upto the end of the fifth chapter.

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१ B_2 वीप्सायोग्यता°

६०८ **अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः ॥ ५.४.१०७ ॥**

[1]टच् समासान्तः[2] । शरदः समीपमुपशरदम् । प्रतिविपाशम् ।

६०९ **अनश्च** ॥५.४.१०८ ॥

अन्नन्तादव्ययीभावात् टच् ।

६१० **नस्तद्धिते** ॥ ६.४.१४४ ॥

नान्तस्य भस्य टेर्लोपः तद्धिते । उपराजम् । अध्यात्मम् ।

६११ **तत्पुरुषः** ॥ २.१.२२ ॥

अधिकारः प्राग् बहुव्रीहेः ।

॥ **इति अव्ययीभावः** ॥

६१२ **द्विगुश्च** ॥ २.१.२३ ॥

तत्पुरुषः ।

608. In the *avyayībhāva* after *śarad* and other words (5.4.107), *ṭac* (is appended) as the end of the compound. *śaradaḥ samīpam upaśaradam; prativipāśam.*

609. And after *an* (5.4.108)

After the *avyayībhāva* ending in *an, ṭac* (is appended).

610. When followed by a *taddhita* (suffix), of *n* (6.4.144).

In the place of the *ṭi* of the *bha* ending in *n,* elision (is substituted), when followed by a *taddhita. uparājam; adhyātmam.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *avyayībhāva.*

611. *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22).

(This forms) the topic prior to *bahuvrīhi.*

612. And *dvigu* (2.1.23).

(is a variety of) *tatpuruṣa.*

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१ V °न्तः स्यात्

२ V शरदादिभ्यः टच्

६१३ द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः ॥ २.१.२४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तं श्रितादिप्रकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्यते । कृष्णं श्रितः कृष्णश्रितः ।

६१४ तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन ॥ २.१ ३० ॥

तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणेन अर्थेन च सह प्राग्वत् शङ्कुलया खण्डः शङ्कुलाखण्डः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः ।

६१५ कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् ॥ २.१.३२ ॥

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृदन्तेन[1] बहुलं प्राग्वत् । हरित्रातः । नखभिन्नः ।

613. Accusative, with *śrita, atīta, patita, gata, atyasta, prāpta* and *āpanna* (2.1.24).

A word in the accusative is optionally compounded with the inflected (forms of) *śrita* and other words. *kṛṣṇaṁ śritaḥ kṛṣṇaśritaḥ.*

614. Instrumental, with a word expressive of the *guṇa,* which is made by it, and with *artha.* (2.1.30).

A word in the instrumental is, as above, (compounded) with (a word) expressive of the *guṇa,* effected by the object conveyed by the word with the instrumental ending, and with (the word) *artha. śaṅkulayā khaṇḍaḥ śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ, dhānyenārtho dhānyārthaḥ.*

615. In the sense of the agent and the instrument, with *kṛt,* diversely (2.1.32).

A word in the instrumental, expressive of the agent or the instrument, is diversely as before (compounded) with (a word) ending in a *kṛt* suffix. *haritrātaḥ, nakhanirbhinnaḥ.*

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१ V omitted

६१६ चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः ॥ २.१.३६ ॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तार्थाय यत् तद्वाचिना अर्थादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं प्राग्वत्। यूपाय दारु यूपदारु। तदर्थेन प्रकृतिविकृतिभाव एव। तेनेह न। रन्धनाय स्थाली।

६१७ अर्थेन नित्यसमासो विशेष्यलिङ्गता चेति वाच्यम्।

द्विजायायं द्विजार्थः सूपः। द्विजार्था यवागूः। द्विजार्थं पयः। भूतबलिः। गोहितम्। गोसुखम्। गोरक्षितम्।

६१८ पञ्चमी भयेन ॥ २.१.३७ ॥

चोरात् भयम् चोरभयम्।

६१९ षष्ठी ॥ २.२.८ ॥

सुबन्तेन प्राग्वत्। राज्ञः पुरुषः राजपुरुषः।

616. Dative, with a *tadartha* (object), and with *artha, bali, hita, sukha,* and *rakṣita* (2.1.36).

(A word) in the dative (is compounded) as before with that word which is expressive of what is meant for the matter expressed by the word in the dative, and with *artha* and other words. *yūpāya dāru yūpadāru*. By *tadartha* (is meant) the relation of the material and its modification only. Hence (this rule does) not (apply) in the case of: *randhanāya sthālī*

617. It should be stated that with *artha* the compound formed is *nitya* and that it has the gender of the *viśeṣya*.

dvijāyāyaṁ dvijārthaḥ sūpaḥ; dvijārthā yavāgūḥ; dvijārthaṁ payaḥ; bhūtabaliḥ, gohitam, gosukham, gorakṣitam.

618. Ablative, with *bhaya* (2.1.37).

chorāt bhayam chorabhayam.

619. Genitive (2.2.8).

(is compounded) with an inflected word as before. *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ rājapuruṣaḥ.*

६२० सप्तमी शौण्डैः ॥ २.१.४० ॥

[1]सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वत् । अक्षेषु शौण्डः अक्षशौण्डः ।

द्वितीयातृतीयेत्य दियोगविभागात् अन्यत्रापि द्वितीयादिविभक्तीनां प्रयोगवशात् समासो ज्ञेयः ।

६२१ तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च ॥ २.१.५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये [2]उत्तरपदे च परतः[2] समाहारे च वाच्ये दिक्संख्ये प्राग्वत् । पूर्वस्यां शालायां भवः पूर्वशाला[3] इति समासे जाते सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे[4] पुंवद्भावः ।

620. Locative, with *śauṇḍas* (2.1.40).

A word in the locative (is compounded) as before with *śauṇḍa* and other words. *akṣeṣu śauṇḍaḥ akṣaśauṇḍaḥ.*

On the strength of the separation (as an independent *sūtra*) of (the words) *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā* etc. (in the relevant *sūtras*), compounding of accusative and other cases elsewhere (i.e. with other words) also should be understood, in deference to usage.

621. When the sense of a *taddhita* (is to be expressed), when followed by an additional word, and also when an aggregate is to be expressed (2.1.51).

When the sense of a *taddhita* is in question, and when an additional word follows, and when an aggregate is to be expressed, (words expressive of) direction and number (are compounded) as before. *pūrvasyāṁ śālāyāṁ bhavaḥ.* In *pūrvaśālā*, when this compound is formed, the word *pūrvā* takes the masculine form, according to the rule that a pronoun assumes the masculine form in all *vṛttis*.

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१ V सप्तम्यन्तं.........प्राग्वत् omitted

२ B_1 उत्तरपरतः

३ D पौर्वशालः इति समासः । for पूर्वशाला.........जाते

४ B_1 °मात्रे सर्वस्य; B_2 °मात्रे पूर्वस्य

६२२ दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः ॥ ४.२.१०७ ॥
अस्मात् भवाद्यर्थे ञः असंज्ञायाम् ।

६२३ तद्धितेष्वचामादेः ॥ ७.२.११७ ॥
ञिति णिति च तद्धिते अचामादेरचो वृद्धिः ।

६२४ यस्येति च ॥ ६.४.१४८ ॥
पौर्वशालः । पञ्च गावो धनं यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ ।

६२५ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोरुत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनम् ।

६२६ गोरतद्धितलुकि ॥ ५.४.९२ ॥

622. After (a compound) having a word expressive of direction as a former member not in the sense of *saṁjñā, ña* (4.2.107).

After it, in the sense of *bhava* etc., *ña* is appended, of course, not in the sense of a *saṁjñā*.

623. When followed by *taddhitas,* in the place of the first of the vowels. (7.2.117).

When followed by a *taddhita* with an indicatory *ñ* or *ṇ,* in the place of the first among the vowels (of the base), *vṛddhi* (is substituted).

624. Of *i* and *a,* when followed *ī* and (a *taddhita*) (6.4.148).

paurvaśālaḥ. In a *bahuvrīhi* with three members, with the dissolution, *pañca gāvo dhanaṁ yasya.*

625. When an additional word comes after a *dvandva* or a *tatpuruṣa,* the compound should be declared to be *nitya.*

626. After *go,* except when there is elision of *taddhita* (5.4.92).

गोऽन्तात् तत्पुरुषात् टच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि। पञ्चगवधनः।

६२७ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ १.२.४२ ॥

६२८ संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः ॥ २.१.५२ ॥
तद्धितार्थेत्यत्र।

६२९ द्विगुरेकवचनम् ॥ २.४.१ ॥
द्विग्वर्थः समाहार एकवत् स्यात्।

६३० स नपुंसकम् ॥ २.४.१७ ॥
समाहारे द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च नपुंसकम्। पञ्चानां गवां समाहारः पञ्चगवम्।

६३१ विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् ॥ २.१.५७ ॥

After a *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *go, ṭac* is appended as the ending of the compound; (but) not when there is elision of a *taddhita* suffix. *pañcagavadhanaḥ*.

627. A *tatpuruṣa*, having the same *adhikaraṇa*, (is designated) *karmadhāraya* (1.2.42).

628. Having *saṁkhyā* as the first member, *dvigu* (2.1.52), (as specified in) *taddhitārtha* etc.

629. A *dvigu*, singular (2.4.1).
The sense of *dvigu*, aggregate, is like one.

630. It is neuter (2.4.17).

When *samāhāra* is expressed, *dvandva* and *dvigu* are neuter in gender. *pañcānāṁ gavāṁ samāhāraḥ pañcagavam*.

631. A *viśeṣaṇa*, with a *viśeṣya*, diversely (2.1.57).

भेदकं भेद्येन समानाधिकरणेन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । नीलमुत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलग्रहणात् क्वचित् नित्यम् । कृष्णसर्पः । क्वचिन्न । रामो जामदग्न्यः ।

६३२ उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ॥ २.१.५५ ॥

घन इव श्यामः घनश्यामः ।

६३३ पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे ॥ २.२.१ ॥

अवयविना सह पूर्वादयः समस्यन्ते । एकत्वसंख्याविशिष्टश्चेत् अवयवी । षष्ठीसमासापवादः । पूर्वं कायस्य पूर्वकायः । अपरकायः । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्वश्छात्राणाम् ।

A qualifier is diversely (compounded) as before with the qualified, standing in the same case. *nīlam utpalaṁ nīlotpalam*. By the force of the word *bahulam*, at times, (the compound thus formed is) *nitya*: *kṛṣṇasarpaḥ;* at times (it is) not (so): *rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ*.

632. Standards of comparison, with words expressive of the common quality (2.1.55).

ghana iva śyāmaḥ ghanaśyāmaḥ.

633. *pūrva, apara, adhara* and *uttara,* with *ekadeśin,* when it has *eka adhikaraṇa* (2.2.1).

With (a word expressive of) the whole, *pūrva* etc. are compounded, provided that the whole is characterised by numerical unity. This is an exception to the *ṣaṣṭhī* -(*tatpurnṣa*) compound. *pūrvaṁ kāyasya pūrvakāyaḥ; aparakāyaḥ*. Why say *ekādhikaraṇe?* (The answer is to be found in cases like) *pūrvaś chātrāṇām*.

६३४ अर्धं नपुंसकम् ॥ २.२.२ ॥

समांशवाची अर्धशब्दो नित्यं क्लीबे । स प्राग्वत् । अर्धं पिप्पल्या अर्धपिप्पली ।

६३५ शाकपार्थिवादीनामुत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥

शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ।

६३६ नञ् ॥ २.२.६ ॥

सुपा प्राग्वत् ।

६३७ नलोपो नञः ॥ ६.३.७२ ॥

नञो नस्य लोप उत्तरपदे । अब्राह्मणः ।

६३८ तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ६.३.७३ ॥

लुप्तनकारात् नञ उत्तरपदस्याजादेर्नुट् । अनश्वः ।

634. *ardha,* neuter (2.2.2).

The word *ardha,* expressive of *exact half,* is always in the neuter. It (is compounded) as before. *ardhaṁ pippalyāḥ ardhapippalī.*

635. In the case of *śākapārthiva* etc., elision of the latter member.

śākapriyaḥ pārthivaḥ sākapārthivaḥ; devabrāhmaṇaḥ.

636. *nañ* (2.2.6),

(is compounded) with (a word ending in) a case-ending.

637. In the case of *nañ*, elision of *n* (6.3.72).

In the place of *n* belonging to *nañ,* elision is substituted, when followed by a latter member. *abrāhmaṇaḥ.*

638. After it, *nuṭ,* when followed by a vowel. (6.3.73).

A latter member beginning with a vowel, coming after *nañ* with its *n* elided, has (the augment) *nuṭ. anaśvaḥ.*

६३९ **कुगतिप्रादयः ॥ २.२ १८ ॥**

एते समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यन्ते । कुत्सितः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः ।

६४० **ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च ॥ १.४.६१ ॥**

ऊर्यादयः[1] च्व्यन्ता डाजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्युः । ऊरीकृत्य शुक्लीकृत्य पटपटाकृत्य । सुपुरुषः ।

६४१ **उपपदमतिङ् ॥ २.२.१९ ॥**

उपपदं समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्च समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भूत् । माङि लुङ् (३.३.१७५) इति सप्तमीनिर्देशात् माङ् उपपदम् ।

639. *ku, gati* and *pra* etc. (2.2.18).

These words are invariably compounded with a competent word. *kutsitaḥ puruṣaḥ kupuruṣaḥ.*

640. *ūrī* etc., *cvi* and *ḍāc,* also (1.4.61).

ūrī etc., and formations in *cvi* and (formations) in *ḍāc,* when connected with a verb, have the designation *gati. ūrīkṛtya, śuklīkṛtya, paṭapaṭākṛtya; supuruṣaḥ.*

641. An *upapada,* not (ending in) a *tiṅ* (2.2.19).

An *upapada* is invariably compounded with a competent word; and the compound does not end in a *tiṅ. kumbhaṁ karoti iti kumbhakāraḥ.* Why say *atiṅ?* (The answer is to be found in statements like) *mā bhavān bhūt.* Here *māṅ* is an *upapada,* on the strength of its mention in the locative in the *sūtra, māṅi luṅ.*

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१ B_2 ऊर्यादिच्व्यन्ताः

६४२ **अहःसर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः ॥ ५.४.८७ ॥**

एभ्यो रात्रेरच् स्यात् । चात् संख्याव्ययादेः ।

६४३ **रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि ॥ २.४.२९ ॥**

एतदन्तौ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषौ पुंस्येव । अहश्च रात्रिश्च अहोरात्रः । सर्वरात्रः पूर्वरात्रः संख्यातरात्रः ।

६४४ **संख्यापूर्वं रात्रं क्लीबम् ॥**

द्विरात्रम् । अतिरात्रः ।

६४५ **राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् ॥ ५.४.९१ ॥**

एतदन्तात् तत्पुरुषात् टच् । परमराजः ।

642. In the case of *rātri,* coming after *ahan, sarva,* (a word denoting) a part, *saṁkhyāta* and *puṇya,* (5.4.87).

In the case of *rātri* coming after these, *ac,* is appended (as *samāsānta*). By the force of *ca,* after a numeral, *avyaya,* etc. (also).

643. *rātra, ahna* and *aha,* in the masculine (2.4.29).

The *dvandva* and the *tatpuruṣa* (compounds) ending in these are in the masculine only. *ahaś ca rātriś ca ahorātraḥ; sarvarātraḥ, pūrvarātraḥ, saṁkhyātarātraḥ.*

644. *rātra,* preceded by *saṁkhyā,* neuter.

dvirātram; atirātraḥ.

645. After *rājan, ahan,* and *sakhi, ṭac* (5.4.91).

After a *tatpuruṣa* ending in these, (the *samāsānta*) *ṭac* (is appended). *paramarājaḥ.*

६४६ **आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः** ॥ ६.३.४५ ॥
महाराजः । प्रकारवचने जातीयर् । महाप्रकारो महाजातीयः ।

६४७ **द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः** ॥ ६.३.४६ ॥
आत् स्यात् । द्व्यधिका दश द्वादश । अष्टाविंशतिः ।

६४८ **परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः** ॥ २.४.२६ ॥
कुक्कुटमयूर्यौ इमे । मयूरीकुक्कुटौ इमौ । अर्द्धपिप्पली ।

६४९ **सामान्ये नपुंसकम्** ॥
मृदु पचति । प्रातः कमनीयम् ।

॥ इति तत्पुरुषः ॥

646. *ā* in the place of *mahat,* when a word in the same case and (the suffix) *jātīyar* follows (6.3.45).

mahārājaḥ. The suffix *jātīyar* is expressive of *prakāra; mahāprakāraḥ mahājātīyaḥ.*

647. In the place of *dvi* and *aṣṭan,* when followed by a *saṁkhyā*, not *bahuvrīhi*, not *aśīti*. (6.3.46),

āt is substituted. *dvyadhikā daśa dvādaśa; aṣṭāviṁśatiḥ.*

648. The gender of *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa,* like (that of) the latter member. (2.4.26).

kukkuṭamayūryau ime, mayūrīkukkuṭau imau; ardhapippalī.

649. In (the case of) general application, neuter gender (is used).

mṛdu pacati, prātaḥ kamanīyam.

Thus ends (the section on) the *tatpuruṣa* compound.

६५० अनेकमन्यपदार्थे ॥ २.२.२४ ॥

अनेकं प्रथमान्तमन्यपदार्थे[1] वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स बहुव्रीहिः। प्राप्तमुदकं यं प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः। ऊढरथोऽनड्वान्। उपहृतपशू रुद्रः। उद्धृतौदना स्थाली। पीताम्बरो हरिः। वीरपुरुषो ग्रामः।

६५१ [2]सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २.२.३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणं च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं स्यात्।

६५२ हलदन्तात् सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६.३.८ ॥

हलन्तात् अदन्तात् सप्तम्या अलुक्। कण्ठेकालः। अत एव ज्ञापकात् व्यधिकरणपदो[3] बहुव्रीहिः।

650. More than one, in the sense of a different *padārtha*. (2.2.24)

bahuvrīhi is that compound in which more words than one, standing in the nominative and signifying together a matter other than what is conveyed by these words, are optionally compounded. *prāptam udakaṁ yaṁ prāptodako grāmaḥ; upahṛtapaśū rudraḥ; uddhṛtaudanā sthālī; pītāmbaro hariḥ; vīrapuruṣo grāmaḥ.*

651. Locative and an epithet, in *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.35).

A word in the locative and a qualifying word is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

652. After a word ending in a consonant or in *a*, in the place of locative, non-elision, in the case of a *saṁjñā* (6.3.8).

After a word ending in a consonant or ending in *a*, there is non-elision of the locative (ending). *kaṇṭhekālaḥ;* from this very *sūtra* as *jñāpaka, vyadhikaraṇa* (type of) *bahuvrīhi* (is inferred).

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१ B_1 °पदस्यार्थे

२ V from here upto व्यधिकरणपदो बहुव्रीहिः omitted

३ B_1 करणबहुव्रीहिः

६५३ स्त्रियाः[1] पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणी-प्रियादिषु ॥ ६.३.३३ ॥

उक्तपुंस्कात् ऊङभावो यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुंवाचकस्यैव रूपं स्यात् समानाधिकरणे[2] । न तु पूरण्यां[3] प्रियादौ च । चित्रगुः । रूपवद्भार्यः । अप्रियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रियः ।

६५४ बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात् षच् ॥ ५.४.११३ ॥

स्वाङ्गवाचि[4]सक्थ्यन्तात् बहुव्रीहेः षच् ।

653. In the place of a fem. word not ending in (the fem. suffix) *ū*, and having the same sense as the (corresponding) masculine form, the corresponding masculine form (is substituted) when followed by a feminine word in juxtaposition, excepting an ordial or (a word of) the *priyādi* class. (6.3.33).

In the place of a word expressive of a female, which conveys the same sense as the corresponding masculine form, and which has not (the fem. suffix) *ūṅ* (appended to it), is substituted the corresponding masculine form, when a feminine word in juxtaposition follows. Not, however, when followed by a fem. ordinal, or a word of the *priyādi* class. *citraguḥ*, *rūpavadbhāryaḥ*. Why say *apriyādiṣu*? The answer may be found in compounds like) *kalyāṇīpriyaḥ*.

654. In a *bahuvrīhi* compound, after *sakthi* and *akṣi* denoting a part of the body, *ṣac* (5.4.113).

After a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in the words *sakthi* or *akṣi* expressive of a part of the body, (the *samāsānta*) *ṣac* (is appended).

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१ B_1 omitted

२ V पूरणीप्रियादौ च

३ B_2 adds स्त्रीलिङ्गे after this

४ B_2 °वाचिशब्दसक्थ्य°

६५५ षः प्रत्ययस्य ॥ १.३.६ ॥

आदिरित् । दीर्घसक्थः । षित्त्वात् ङीष् । वामाक्षी ।

६५६ उरःप्रभृतिभ्यः कप् ॥ ५.४.१५१ ॥

व्यूढोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिष्कः ।

६५७ शेषाद्विभाषा ॥ ५.४.१५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्तात् बहुव्रीहेः कप् वा । महायशस्कः महायशाः ।

॥ इति बहुव्रीहिः ॥

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655. ṣ, of a *pratyaya* (1.3.6).

The initial (ṣ) is indicatory. *dīrghasakthaḥ*. Here *ṅīṣ* is appended because the *pratyaya* has an indicatory ṣ. *vāmākṣī*.

656. After *uras* etc., *kap* (5.4.151).

vyūḍhoraskaḥ; priyasarpiṣkaḥ.

657. After the remaining, optionally (5.4.154).

After a *bahuvrīhi* compound, for which no *samāsānta* has been laid down, (the *pratyaya*) *kap* is optionally appended. *mahāyaśaskaḥ, mahāyaśāḥ*.

Thus ends (the section on) the *bahuvrīhi* compound.

६५८ चार्थे द्वन्द्वः ॥ २.२.२९ ॥

अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । समुच्चयान्वाचयेतरेतरयोगसमाहाराश्चार्थाः । तत्र ईश्वरं गुरुं च भज इति परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वयः समुच्चयः । भिक्षामट गां चानय इति। अन्यतरस्य त्वानुषङ्गिकत्वे[1]न्वाचयः । अनयोरसामर्थ्यात् समासो न। धवखदिरौ छिन्धि इति मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोगः । संज्ञापरिभाषम्। समूहः समाहारः ।

६५९ राजदन्तादिषु परम् २.२.३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हं परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राजा राजदन्तः ।

658. In the sense of *ca, dvandva* (2.2.29).

More inflected words than one, signifying the sense of *ca,* are optionally compounded; and that is (designated) *dvandva.* Community of reference, collateralness of reference, mutual conjunction, and aggregate are the senses of *ca.* Of these, *samuccaya* means common syntactical connection of more than one mutually independent words with one word, (as in) *īśvaraṁ guruṁ ca bhaja.* On the other hand, when one of the two (words, thus connected) is incidental (as in) *bhikṣām aṭa gāṁ cānaya,* it is *anvācaya.* Of these, no compound is formed, owing to absence of *sāmarthya* (competence). *Itaretarayoga* is the contact of words together, (as in) *dhavakhadirau chinddhi;* while *samāhāra* is aggregate, (as in) *saṁjñāparibhāṣam.*

659. In *rājadanta* etc., later (2.2.31).

In these compounds, that member, which should ordinarily be placed first, is (placed) afterwards. *dantānām rājā rājadantaḥ.*

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१ B_2 °कत्वे नान्वयः

६६० द्वन्द्वे घि ॥ २.२.३२ ॥

पूर्वं स्यात् । हरिहरौ ।

६६१ अजाद्यदन्तम् ॥ २.२.३३ ॥

ईशकृष्णौ ।

६६२ द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् ॥ २.४.२ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पाणिपादम् । मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वारोहम् ।

६६३ द्वन्द्वात् चुदषहान्तात् समाहारे ॥ ५.४.१०६ ॥

चवर्गान्तात् दषहान्ताच्च द्वन्द्वात् टच्[1] स्यात् समाहारे । वाक्त्वचम् । त्वक्स्रजम् । शमीदृषदम् । वाक्त्विषम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृट्शरदौ ।

॥ इति द्वन्द्वः ॥

660. In a *dvandva, ghi* (2.2.32).

is placed earlier; *hariharau.*

661. A word beginning with a vowel and ending in *at* (2.2.33).

īśakṛṣṇau.

662. And *dvandva* of parts of *prāṇin, tūrya* and *senā* (2.4.2).

dvandva formed of these is like unity (aggregate). *pāṇipādam; mārdaṅgikapāṇavikam; rathikāśvāroham.*

663. After a *dvandva* ending in *cu, d, ṣ* and *h,* when aggregate is intended to be expressed (5.4.106).

After a *dvandva* ending in a letter of the *cavarga,* or in *d, ṣ,* or *h,* the *samāsānta ṭac* is appended, when aggregate is intended to be conveyed. *vāktvacam, tvaksrajam, śamīdṛṣadam, vāktviṣam, chatropānaham.* Why say *samāhāre?* (The answer is to be found in cases like) *prāvṛṭśaradau.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *dvandva* compound.

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१ B_1 omitted; B_2 V °न्द्वादच्°

६६४ ऋक्पूरब्धूःपथामानक्षे ॥ ५.४.७४ ॥

ऋगाद्यन्तस्य समासस्य अप्रत्ययोऽन्तावयवः । अक्षे या धूः तदन्तस्य न । अर्धर्चः । विष्णुपुरम् । विमलापं सरः । राजधुरम् । अक्षे तु अक्षधूः । दृढधूः अक्षः । सखिपथः । रम्यपथो देशः ।

६६५ न पूजनात् ॥ ५.४.६९ ॥

पूजनार्थात् परेभ्यः समासान्ता न स्युः । सुराजा अतिराजा ।

६६६ स्वतिभ्यामेव ॥

परमराजः ।

664. In the case of *ṛc, pur, ap, dhur,* and *pathin, a,* except when (*dhur*) signifies *akṣa*. (5.4.74).

In the case of a compound, having *ṛc*, etc. at the end, (the *samāsānta*) *a* is appended as the final portion. But not in the case of a compound ending in *dhur* which pertains to *akṣa*. *ardharcaḥ, viṣṇupuram, vimalāpaṁ saraḥ, rājadhuram*. When pertaining to *akṣa*, however, *akṣadhūḥ, dṛḍhadhūḥ akṣaḥ*. *sakhipathaḥ, ramyapatho deśaḥ*.

665. Not after (words conveying) praise (5.4.69).

The endings of compounds (*samāsānta*) are not appended after (these words), when they stand after words conveying praise. *surājā, atirājā*.

666. After *su* and *ati* only.

paramarājaḥ.

६६७ **पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्** ॥ ६.३.१०८ ॥

शिष्टैः[१] यथोच्चारितानि[२] तथा साधूनि ।
भवेद् वर्णागमाद्धंसः सिंहो वर्णविपर्ययात् ।
गूढोत्मा वर्णविकृतेर्वर्णनाशात् पृषोदरम् ॥ इत्यादि ॥

॥ इति समासान्तप्रत्ययाः[३] ॥

॥ इति समासाः[४] ॥

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667. *pṛṣodara* etc. as actually mentioned (6.3.108).

(These) are to be considered correct in the very form in which they have been uttered by *śiṣṭas* (the elite).

Through the augmentation of a letter is established *haṁsa; siṁha,* through the transposition of letters; *gūḍhotmā,* through the modification of a letter; and through the disappearance of a letter, *pṛṣodara;* and so on.

Thus ends (the section on) *samāsānta* suffixes.

Thus ends (the section on) compounds.

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१ B₁, B₂, D omitted
२ V adds विशिष्टैः after this; B₁, B₂, D add शिष्टैः
३ B₁, D No colophon; V omitted
४ Found only in V

(॥ अथ तद्धिताः ॥)

६६८ **समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा** ॥ ४.१.८२ ॥
इदमधिक्रियते प्राग्दिश इति यावत् ।

६६९ **प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्** ॥ ४.१.८३ ॥
तेन दीव्यति इत्यतः प्राक् अण् अधिक्रियते ।

६७० **दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः** ॥ ४.१.८५ ॥
प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु । दितेरपत्यादि दैत्यः । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्यः । प्राजापत्यः[१] ।

६७१ [२]**उत्सादिभ्योऽञ्** ॥ ४.१.८६ ॥
औत्सः ।

668. Optionally after the first among the competent words. (4.1.82).

Here a topic is commenced (to continue) upto *prāgdiśaḥ*.

669. Prior to *dīvyat, aṇ* (4.1.83).

Upto (excluding) the *sūtra, tena dīvyati,* the suffix *aṇ* is made a topic.

670. Afetr *diti, aditi, āditya* and (a compound) having *pati* as the latter member, *ṇya* (4.1.85).

To convey all the senses upto *dīvyati. diter apatyādi dāityaḥ; aditer ādityasya vā ādityaḥ; prājāpatyaḥ.*

671. After *utsa* etc. *añ* (4.1.86).

autsaḥ

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१ B_1, V omitted

२ V From here upto क्विति च ॥ omitted

६७२ बहिषष्टिलोपो यञ् च ।

बाह्यः ।

६७३ ईकक् च ॥

६७४ किति च ॥ ७.२.११८ ॥

[1]अचामादेरचो वृद्धिः । बाहीकः[2] ।

६७५ गोरजादिप्रसङ्गे यत् ॥

गोरपत्यादि गव्यम् ।

६७६ तस्यापत्यम् ॥ ४.१.९२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तात् कृतसन्धेः समर्थादपत्येऽर्थे उक्ता वक्ष्यमाणाश्च प्रत्यया वा स्युः ।

672. In the case of *bahis,* there occurs elision of its *ṭi* and *yañ* (is appended).

bāhyaḥ;

673. And *īkak* (is also appended).

674. And when followed by what has an indicatory *k* (7.2.118).

vṛddhi is (substituted) in the place of the vowel that is the first among the vowels. *bāhīkaḥ*.

675. After *go,* when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel, *yat*.

gor apatyādi gavyam

676. Off-spring thereof (4.1.92).

After a word in the genitive, that is competent and has formed its connection, in the sense of *apatya,* the suffixes stated and to be stated are optionally appended.

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१ Before this V adds तद्धितेष्वचामादेः

२ Instead of बाहीकः V reads अश्वपतेरपत्यादि आश्वपतम् । गाणपतम् ।

६७७ **ओर्गुणः** ॥ ६.४.१४६ ॥
उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणस्तद्धिते । उपगोरपत्यमौपगवः । दैत्यः ।

६७८ **अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्** ॥ ४.१.१६२ ॥
अपत्यत्वेन विवक्षितं[1] पौत्रादि गोत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

६७९ **एको गोत्रे** ॥ ४.१.९३ ॥
गोत्रे एक एव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । उपगोर्गोत्रापत्यम् औपगवः ।

६८० **गर्गादिभ्यो यञ्** ॥ ४.१.१०५ ॥
गोत्रापत्ये । गर्गस्य गोत्रापत्यं गार्ग्यः । वात्स्यः ।

677. In the place of *u, guṇa* (6.4.146).

In the place of a *bha* ending in the vowel *u, guṇa* (is substituted), when followed by a *taddhita* suffix. *upagor apatyam aupagavaḥ. daityaḥ.*

678. Posterity beginning with a son's son (is designated) *gotra* (4.1.162).

Grandson etc., that is intended to be spoken of as being posterity, is designated *gotra*.

679. One, in the sense of *gotra* (4.1.93).

In the sense of *gotra,* only one suffix is appended. *upagor gotrāpatyam aupagavaḥ.*

680. After *garga* etc., *yañ* (4.1.105).

In the sense of *gotrāpatya. gargasya gotrāpatyam gārgyaḥ; vātsyaḥ.*

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१ B_1 °ते

६८१ यञञोश्च ॥ २.४.६४ ॥

गोत्रे यत् यञन्तमञन्तं च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुक् तत्कृते बहुत्वे ।
न तु स्त्रियाम् । गर्गाः । वत्साः ।

६८२ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ ४.१.१६३ ॥

वंश्ये पित्रादौ जीवति पौत्रादेर्यदपत्यं चतुर्थादि तद् युवसंज्ञमेव स्यात् ।

६८३ गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ४.१.९४ ॥

यून्यपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा ।

681. In the place of *yañ* and *añ* also (2.4.64).

In the place of *yañ* and *añ*, forming part of *yañ* and *añ* formations in the sense of *gotra*, elision is substituted, when the word takes the plural. Not, however, in the feminine. *gargāḥ, vatsāḥ.*

682. If a descendant is alive, (the designation is) *yuvan* (4.1.163).

When one in a line of descent, father etc., is alive, the descendant of the grandson etc., from the fourth onwards, is designated *yuvan* only.

683. In the sense of *yuvan*, other than feminine, after *gotra* (only) (4.1.94).

In the sense of *yuvan apatya*, the suffix is appended to a base ending in the *gotra* suffix only. In the feminine, however, the designation *yuvan* is not available.

६८४ **यञिञोश्च** ॥ ४.१.१०१ ॥
गोत्रे यौ यञिञौ तदन्तात् फक् ।

६८५ **आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनाम्** ॥ ७.१.२ ॥
प्रत्ययादेः फस्य आयन् ढस्य एय् खस्य ईन् छस्य ईय् घस्य इय् स्युः । गर्गस्य युवापत्यं गार्ग्यायणः । वात्स्यायनः[१] । दाक्षायणः ।

६८६ **अत इञ्** ॥ ४.१.९५ ॥
अपत्ये दाक्षिः ।

६८७ **बाह्वादिभ्यश्च** ॥ ४.१.९६ ॥
बाहविः । औडुलोमिः । औडुलोमी[२] ।

684. After *yañ* and *iñ* also (4.1.101).

The suffix *phak* is appended to the base ending in *yañ* or *iñ*, which are appended in the sense of *gotra*.

685. In the place of *ph, ḍh, kh, ch,* and *gh,* at the beginning of a suffix, *āyan, ey, īn, īy* and *iy* (7.1.2).

In the place of *ph* at the beginning of a suffix, *āyan* (is substituted); in the place of *ḍh, ey;* in the place of *kh, īn;* in the place of *ch, īy;* and in the place of *gh, iy. gargasya yuvāpatyaṁ gārgyāyaṇaḥ. vātsyāyanaḥ; dākṣāyaṇaḥ.*

686. After words ending in *a, iñ* (4.1.95).

In the sense of *apatya. dākṣiḥ.*

687. After *bāhu* etc. (4.1.96).

bahaviḥ, auḍulomiḥ, auḍulomī.

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१ B_2 omitted

२ B_2 omitted

६८८ **लोम्नोऽपत्येषु बहुष्वकारो वक्तव्यः ॥**
बाह्वादीञोऽपवादः । उडुलोमाः ।

६८९ **शिवादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ४.१.११२ ॥**
अपत्ये । शिवस्यापत्यं शैवः ।

६९० **स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ ४.१.१२० ॥**
स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यः । वैनतेयः ।

६९१ **तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ४.२.५९ ॥**

६९२ **न य्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् ॥ ७.३.३ ॥**
पदान्ताभ्यां यवाभ्यां परस्य न वृद्धिः । किन्तु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ क्रमात् ऐचावागमौ स्तः । व्याकरणमधीते वेत्ति वा वैयाकरणः ।

688. In the place of *loman,* in the plural, when followed by the *apatya* suffixes, substitution of *a* should be stated.

This is an exception to the suffix *iñ* to be appended after *bāhu* etc. *uḍulomāḥ*.

689. After *śiva* etc., *aṇ* (4.1.112).
In the sense of *apatya*. *śivasya apatyaṁ śaivaḥ*.

690. After feminine (bases), *ḍhak* (4.1.120).

After bases ending in feminine suffixes. *vainateyaḥ*.

691. (He) studies it, knows it (4.2.59).

692. Not after *y* or *v* at the end of a *pada,* but before them, *aic* (7.3.3).

In the place of the vowel coming after *y* or *v* at the end of a *pada*, *vṛddhi* is not (substituted). But prior to them, respectively *ai* and *au* (augments) are attached. *vyākaraṇam adhīte vetti vā vaiyākaraṇaḥ*.

६९३ तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ ४.२.१ ॥
कषायेण रक्तं काषायम् ।

६९४ सास्य देवता ॥ ४.२.२४ ॥
इन्द्रो देवता अस्य ऐन्द्रं हविः । पाशुपतम् ।

६९५ संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ ४.२.१६ ॥
भ्राष्ट्रेषु संस्कृता[1] भक्षा भ्राष्ट्राः ।

६९६ तत्र भवः ॥ ४.३.५३ ॥
स्रुघ्ने भवः स्रौघ्नः ।

६९७ वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ १.१.७३ ॥
यस्य समुदायस्याचां मध्ये आदिर्वृद्धिः तद् वृद्धसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

693. Dyed by it, after *rāga* (4.2.1).
kaṣāyeṇa raktaṁ kāṣāyam.

694. It is the deity therof (4.2.24).
indro devatā asya aindraṁ haviḥ; pāśupatam.

695. Prepared, food (4.2.16).

bhrāṣṭreṣu saṁskṛtā bhakṣāḥ (Grains prepared in frying pans) *bhrāṣṭrāḥ.*

696. There abiding (4.3.53).
srughne bhavaḥ sraughnaḥ.

697. *Vṛddha* is that (word), first among whose vowels is *vṛddhi* (1.1.73).

That group of letters, the first among whose vowels is *vṛddhi*, has the designation *vṛddha*.

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१ B_2 °तो भ्राष्ट्राः

६९८ **वृद्धाच्छः** ।। ४.२.११४ ।।
शालायां भवः शालीयः ।

६९९ **दिगादिभ्यो यत्** ।। ४.३.५४ ।।
दिश्यम् । वर्ग्यम् ।

७०० **शरीरावयवाच्च** ।। ४.३.५५ ।।
दन्त्यम् कण्ठ्यम् ।

७०१ **अध्यात्मादेः ठञ् इष्यते**[1] ।।

७०२ **ठस्येकः** ।। ७.३.५० ।।
प्रत्ययादेः । अध्यात्मं भवम् आध्यात्मिकम् ।

७०३ **अनुशतिकादीनां च** ।। ७.३.२० ।।
उभयपदवृद्धिः ञिति णिति किति च । आधिदैविकम् । आधिभौतिकम् । ऐहलौकिकम् । पारलौकिकम् ।

698. After *vṛddha cha* (4.2.114).
śālāyāṁ bhavaḥ śālīyaḥ.

699. After *diś* etc., *yat* (4.3.54).
diśyam, vargyam.

700. And after a limb of the body (4.3.55).
dantyam, kaṇṭhyam.

701. After *adhyātma* etc. the suffix *ṭhañ* is desired.

702. In the place of *ṭha, ika* (7.3.50),
(forming) the beginning of a suffix. *adhyātmaṁ bhavam ādhyātmikam.*

703. And in the case of *anuśatika,* etc. (7.3.20).
vṛddhi of both the *padas* (occurs), when followed a suffix having indicatory *ñ, ṇ,* or *k. ādhidaivikam, ādhibhautikam, aihalaukikam, pāralaukikam.*

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१ V dropped

७०४ गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ ४.३.१५८ ॥
गोर्विकारोऽवयवो वा गव्यम् । पयस्यम् ।

७०५ तत्र साधुः ॥ ४.४.९८ ॥
सामसु साधुः सामन्यः । अग्र्यः । कर्मण्यः । शरण्यः ।

७०६ तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद् वतिः ॥ ५.१.११५ ॥
ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवत् अधीते ।

७०७ तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ ॥ ५.१.११९ ॥
प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारो भावः । गोर्भावः गोत्वम् गोता ।

७०८ त्वान्तं क्लीबम् । तलन्तं स्त्रियाम् ।

७०९ प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः ॥ ५.२.३७ ॥
ऊरू प्रमाणमस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् ऊरुदघ्नम् ऊरुमात्रम् ।

704. After *go* and *payas, yat* (4.3.158).
gor vikāro'vayavo vā gavyam; payasyam.

705. Adept therein (4.3.98).
sāmasu sādhuḥ sāmanyaḥ; agryaḥ, karmaṇyaḥ, śaraṇyaḥ.

706. Similar to that, if action, *vati* (5.1.115).
brāhmaṇena tulyaṁ brāhmaṇavat adhīte.

707. The state thereof, *tva* and *tal* (5.1.119).
bhāva is the specification in the knowledge arising from the *prakṛti. gor bhāvaḥ gotvam, gotā.*

708. The formation ending in *tva* is neuter; that ending in *tal* is feminine.

709. In the sense of *pramāṇa, dvayasac, daghnac* and *mātrac* (5.2.37).
ūrū pramāṇam asya ūrudvayasam, ūrudaghnam, ūrumātram.

७१० तदस्यास्त्यस्मिन्निति मतुप् ॥ ५.२.९४ ॥
गावोऽस्यास्मिन् वा सन्ति गोमान् ।

७११ अज्ञाते ॥ ५.३.७३ ॥
[१]कः स्यात्[१] । कस्यायमश्वोऽश्वकः ।

७१२ कुत्सिते ॥ ५.३.७४ ॥
कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वकः ।

७१३ अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकच् प्राक् टेः ॥ ५.३.७१ ॥
उच्चकैः । नीचकैः । सर्वके ।

७१४ प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५.४.३८ ॥
अण् । स्वार्थे । प्रज्ञ एव प्राज्ञः । दैवतः । बान्धवः ।

॥ इति तद्धिताः[२] ॥

710. In the sense, it belongs thereto, or it is therein, *matup*. (5.2.94).
gāvo'syāsmin vā santi gomān.

711. In the sense of unknown. (5.3.73).
(The suffix) *ka* is appended. *kasyāyam aśvo'śvakaḥ.*

712. In the sense of contemptible (5.3.74).
kutsito'śvo'śvakaḥ.

713. In the case of *avyayas* and pronouns, *akac,* prior to *ṭi*. (5.3.71).
uccakaiḥ, nīcakaiḥ, sarvake.

714. And after *prajña* etc. (5.4.38).
aṇ (is appended). In the original sense. *prajñaḥ eva prājñaḥ. daivataḥ, bāndhavaḥ.*

Thus ends (the section on) the *taddhita.*

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१ B_1 omitted

२ B_1, B_2 °ता:

(।। अथ स्त्रीप्रत्ययाः ।।)

७१५ **उगितश्च** ।। ४.१.६ ।।

उगिदन्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् स्त्रियाम् । गोमती ।

७१६ **टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप्ठक्ठञ्कञ्क्वरपः** ।। ४.१.१५ ।।

अनुपसर्जनं यत् टिदादि तदन्तं यददन्तं ततो ङीप् । कुरुचरी । नदट् नदी । देवट् देवी । सौपर्णेयी । इन्द्रस्येयम् ऐन्द्री ।

७१७ **तस्येदम्** ।। ४.३.१२० ।।

इति अण् । औत्सी । ऊरुद्वयसी ऊरुदघ्नी ऊरुमात्री ।

७१८ **पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्** ।। ४.१.४८ ।।

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तते ततो ङीप् । **गोपस्य**[1] स्त्री गोपी ।

715. After what has indicatory *uk* (4.1.6).

After a crude word ending in a suffix having indicatory *uk*, the suffix *ṅīp* (is appended) in the sense of the feminine. *gomatī*.

716. After *ṭit, ḍha, aṇ, añ, dvayasac, daghanac, mātrac, tayap, ṭhak, ṭhañ, kañ* and *kvarap*. (4.1.15).

The suffix *ṅīp* is appended to a base ending in *a*, which ends a *ṭit* suffix etc., which is not an *upasarjana*. *kurucarī, nadaṭ nadī, devaṭ devī, sauparṇeyī, indrasyeyam aindrī.*

717. This belongs to it (4.3.120).

In this sense, *aṇ* (is appendend). *autsī, ūrudvayasī, ūruda-ghanī, ūrumātrī.*

718. In the case of a name got through contact with the male (4.1.48).

The suffix *ṅīp* is appended to the designation of a male, which applies to a female through her contact with the male. *gopasya strī gopī.*

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१ B_2 गोपस्त्री

७१९ सूर्यात् देवतायां चाप् ॥

सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या । देवतायां किम् ।

७२० सूर्यागस्त्ययोः छे च ङ्यां च यलोपः ॥

सूरी कुन्ती ।

७२१ ऊङुतः ॥ ४.१.६६ ॥

उदन्तादयोपधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियाम् ऊङ् । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् । इति प्रातिपदिकत्वात् स्वाद्युत्पत्तिः । कुरूः ।

७२२ श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च ॥

चादूङ् । श्वश्रूः ।

719. After *sūrya, cāp,* in the sense of *devatā.*

sūryasya strī devatā sūryā. Why say *devatāyām?*

720. In the case of *sūrya* and *agastya,* when followed by the suffix *cha* or by *ṅī*, elision of *y* takes place.
sūrī =kuntī.

721. After *ut, ūṅ* (4.1.66).

The suffix *ūṅ* is appended to a word expressive of a human being, ending in *u* and not having *y* for the penultimate. When a *prātipadika* is stated (in a *sūtra*), the base, characterised by a suffix indicating gender, is also understood. By this rule the case-endings *su* etc. become applicable (to these feminine formations) owing to their being *prātipadika.* ***kurūḥ,***

722. In the case of *śvaśura,* elision of *u* and *a.*

By the force of *ca,* the suffix *ūṅ* (is appended to it). ***śvaśrūḥ.***

७२३ यूनस्तिः ॥ ४.१.७७ ॥

स्त्रियाम् युवतिः ।

॥ इति स्त्रीप्रत्ययाः ॥

कृता वरदराजेन[१] दुर्गातनयसूनुना ।
वेदवेद[२]प्रवेशाय सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी[३] ।
सर्वशास्त्रप्रवेशाय सार्धसप्तशती कृता ॥

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723. After *yuvan, ti* (4.1.77).

In the sense of the feminine. *yuvatiḥ*.

Thus ends (the section on) the *strīpratyayas*.

By Varadarāja, son of the son of Durgā, has been composed the *Sārasiddhāntākaumudī*, for introduction into the knowledge of the *Veda*. (By him) has been composed (the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī*) comprising seven and a half hundred (rules) for introduction into all *śāstras*.

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१ B_1, D °दभट्टश्री°

२ V वेदशास्त्र°

३ B_2 The whole stanza omitted

॥ इति श्री[1]वरदराजभट्टविरचिता सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदी समाप्ता[2] ॥

Thus ends the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* composed by Śrī Varadarāja Bhaṭṭa.



१ B_2, D °श्रीचविटिकठिवरद° V °श्रीचविटिकंटीवरद°

२ B_1 सम्पूर्णम्; D समाप्तिमगात्

The scribe's colophons in the MSS. are as follows:—

B_1: संवत् १७३९ ज्यष्ठमासे कृष्णपक्ष अष्टमी शुक्रवासरे प्रयागतः लिषित नरोत्तमकायस्थेन लिषापितं प्रेमपुरीकस्येदं पुस्तकं पठनार्थं परोपकारार्थम्। लेखकपाठकयोः शुभं भवतु। यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा तादृषं लिषितं मया। यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥

B_3: ग्रन्थसंख्या ७५० संवत् १८४१ ज्येष्ठ शुक्ला चतुर्थी अर्कवासरे। शुभं भवतु।

D: श्रीरस्तु। रामरामः।

V: सिद्धिविनायकमङ्गलमूर्तये नमः शके १७१२ साधारणनामसंवत्सरे तद्दिनीदं पुस्तकं केळकर उपनामक गुहागर तर्फ उपाध्ये अडुर सदाशिवेन क्रयक्रीतं पुस्तकं कौमुद्याः स्वार्थं परार्थं च। शुभं भवतु॥ श्रीवरदमूर्तिर्जयति।

सारसिद्धान्तकौमुदीस्थानां सूत्रवार्त्तिकादीनां सूची ।

NOTES

Varadarāja:— a disciple of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the famous author of *SK*, is responsible for three abridgements of *SK*— the *Madhya-*, the *Laghu-*, and the *Sāra- Siddhāntakaumudī*. The *Sāra-SK* is the shortest abridgement, obviously containing the quintescence of *SK* and is sure to serve even today the purpose, for which it was designed.

munitrayam: Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali are reputed as the three great authorities on SK. grammar. Their authority and their mutual relation has been well expressed in the two sayings, *trimuni vyākaraṇam* and *yathottaraṁ munīnāṁ prāmāṇyam*.

bālabodhāya: The word *bāla* here signifies not a child, but a student who has not studied *vyākaraṇa*, but is able to understand it when instructed.

a i u ṇ etc: These fourteen *sūtras* are often called *Śivasūtras* or *Māheśvarasūtras;* and it is supposed that they were produced by god *Śiva* at the end of his dance by souding his drum fourteen times. Since these *sūtras* enumerate the letters of the alphabet, the name *akṣarasamāmnāya* is also assigned to them. (cf. *PŚ* 1 and *Nandi-Kā*). N holds that the *sūtras* together with the *anubandhas* in them have been composed by Maheśvara himself (cf. *BŚŚ*. p. 5f). But ancient works like the *Kāsikā* do not appear to subscribe to such a view.

aṇādisaṁjñārthāni: The *saṁjñās* or designations referred to here are otherwise called *pratyāhāras,* which are formed according to *PA* 1.1.71 (No. 4) below. For a detailed discussion and

information about these see Notes on that *sūtra*. It may here be observed that these *sūtras* are also called *pratyāhārasūtras*.

akāra: Letters of the alphabet are referred to by attaching *kāra* to vowels and *akāra* to consonants. (cf. *VPr.* 1.37-38). So *akāra* = The vowel *a*. *hakāra* = The consonant *h*.

uccāraṇārthaḥ: For the sake of pronunciation. For, as Pat. has remarked: *na punar antareṇācaṁ vyañjanasyoccāraṇam api bhavati* (*MBh.* on *PA* 1.2.30).

It may thus be seen that the consonant at the end of each of these (*Śiva*)-*sūtras* is meant for the formation of *pratyāhāras*. These are not, however, to be included in the letters denoted by the *pratyāhāras* (cf. *pratyāhāreṣvitāṁ na grahaṇam*); and the vowel, attached to the consonants being only for facilitating pronunciation, also is not included in them.

1. This *sūtra* presents a difficulty, by using the word *hal*. By the rule of *pratyāhāra*, *hal* would mean a consonant. But the rule for *pratyāhāra* cannot work and the *pratyāhāra hal* (or in fact any *pratyāhāra*) cannot be established unless the designation *hal* (= a consonant) is established. Thus there is *itaretarāśraya* between the *itsaṁjñā* rule and the rule for forming *pratyāhāras*. An attempt has been made to remove this difficulty by reading this *sūtra* twice as Bh. has actually done it in his *SK*. (Pat., *Kāśikā*, etc. have tried to overcome this difficulty in a slightly different way). V naturally turns a blind eye to this technical difficulty and takes the *pratyāhāra hal* in this *sūtra* to signify a consonant.

upadeśa: Bh. explains this as *first utterance* (*ādyoccāraṇam*). A more lucid description of *upadeśa* is found in the following couplet:

dhātusūtragaṇoṇādivākyaliṅgānuśāsanam/
āgamapratyayādeśā upadeśāḥ prakīrtitāḥ//.

it: This is to be derived from √*i* to go; and means a letter that goes or vanishes, that is, is not allowed to form part of the ultimate or the finished form of a word. Such letters are technically called *anubandhas* and have been used by P to serve several purposes. In fact it is one of the most powerful means used by P to secure brevity or terseness in his work.

2. In this *sūtra* P has defined *lopa*. In this connection one may with interest read Pat's discussion about *saṁjñā* and *saṁjñin* and the concluding remark: *sarvatraiva hi vyākaraṇe pūrvoccāritaḥ saṁjñī paroccāritā saṁjñā* (*MBh* on *PA* 1.1.1). Thus *lopa* (elision) means disappearance of what is due to appear. Thus, for example, the *pratyāhāra aṇ* signifies only *a*, *i*, and *u*, but not *ṇ*. Or *ac* signifies all vowels but not the consonants at the end of the several *sūtras*. This disappearance (of the consonants) is *lopa*. And this is what the following *sūtra* lays down.

3. P has stated which letters are to be considered *it* and in what position (*PA* 1.3.3-8); and now here he has laid down that the letters that are *it* are elided.

4. This *sūtra* shows how *pratyāhāras* are to be framed. The first letter (this may in fact be any letter in the *sūtra* and not necessarily the first only) together with the final *it* consonant (of any *sūtra*) forms a *saṁjñā* and signifies the first letter and also all the other letters standing between it and the final *it* consonant. Thus, as shown above, *ac* stands for *a* (the first letter) and *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *e*, *o*, *ai*, and *au*, which stand in the *sūtras*

between *a* and *c*. In this connection we must note the general rule, that has been already quoted above, namely *pratyāhāraṣv-itāṁ na grahaṇam*. Before we note the several *pratyāhāras* formed according to this rule, we have to note that an *it* can form a *pratyāhāra* only if it is *antya*, so much so that no *pratyāhāra* can be formed with the *it* letter *ṭ* (in *ṭā* of instr. sg); and hence the *pratyāhāra suṭ* can signify the first five case endings only and not case-endings upto *ṭā* (instr. sg.). Secondly it has to be noted that *pratyāhāras* are formed not only on the basis of the *Śivasūtras*, but on the basis of P's own *sūtras* also. Let us note here the *pratyāhāras* based on the *Śivasūtras* first. They have been pithily summarised in one couplet found in the *Kāśikā*:

ekasmān ṅañaṇavaṭā.
dvābhyaṁ ṣas tribhya eva kaṇamaḥ syuḥ/

jñeyau cayau caturbhyo
raḥ pañcabhyaḥ śalau ṣaḍbhyaḥ//

The *ṇ* at the end of the first *sūtra* gives us only *one pratyāhāra*, namely *aṇ* (= *a*, *i*, and *u*); *k* at the end of the second gives us *three*, namely *ak*, *ik*, and *uk; ṅ* of the third *sūtra* gives only *one*, namely *eṅ; c* of the fourth *sūtra* gives *four*, namely *ac*, *ic*, *ec* and *aic; ṭ* of the fifth *sūtra* gives only *one*, namely *aṭ; ṇ* of the sixth *sūtra* gives *three*, namely *aṇ*, *iṇ* and *yaṇ; m* of the seventh *sūtra* gives *three*, namely *am*, *yam*, and *ṅam; ñ* of the eighth *sūtra* gives only *one*, namely *yañ; ṣ* of the nineth *sūtra* gives *two*, namely *bhaṣ* and *jhaṣ; ś* of the tenth *sūtra* gives *six*, namely *aś*, *haś*, *vaś*, *jaś*, *jhaś* and *baś; v* of the eleventh *sūtra* gives only *one*, namely *chav; y* of the twelfth *sūtra* gives *four*, namely *yay*, *may*, *jhay*, and *khay; r* of the thirteenth *sūtra*

gives *five,* namely *yar, jhar, khar, car,* and *śar;* and lastly *l* of the last *sūtra* gives *six,* namely *al, hal, val, ral, jhal,* and *śal.* It may thus be seen that there are in all 41 *pratyāhāras* (based on the *Śiva-sūtras*) used by Pāṇini.

In connection with these it has further to be noted that *ṇ* occurs at the end of two *sūtras* and is, therefore, likely to cause some confusion regarding the exact signification of the *pratyāhāras* formed with it. Hence it has been traditionally fixed that the *pratyāhāra iṇ* will always be taken as being formed with *ṇ* of the later *sūtra;* and *aṇ* with that of the earlier *sūtra.* The only exception to this general rule is *aṇ* in *PA* 1.1.69 where it is to be understood as being formed with the *ṇ* of the later *sūtra* only. This has been very well stated in the following couplet:

pūrveṇaivāṇgrahāḥ sarve pareṇaiveṇgrahā matāḥ/

ṛte'ṇuditsavarṇasyetyeka eva pareṇa tu//

Another point that may be noticed here in passing is that there is a difference of opinion regarding the letter *m;* and those who reject *m* totally, would say that the *pratyāhāras* to be got with *m,* should be had with the help of *ñ*. This rejection of *m,* however, is not accepted by all. (see *MBh* on *Śivasūtra* 7). Similarly there is a controversy regarding the *a* in the *sūtra laṇ.* Some would take it as an *it,* others would not. (For details see *Kāśikā* and *BSS* p. 7f).

5—8. A vowel is classified in two ways: (i) according to the time (or *mātrās*) required to pronounce it; and (ii) according to the actual position or spot (in the mouth) at which it is produced. Thus *sūtra* 5 states that a vowel is designated *hrasva*

(short), *dīrgha* (long) or *pluta* (prolated) according as it requires one, or two, or three *mātrās* for its pronunciation. The same vowel can be designated *udātta, anudātta* or *svarita* according as it is produced at the upper portion, the lower portion or a combination of the two, of the *sthāna* in the mouth wherewith it is pronounced. We need not enter here into details regarding the exact signification of the words *uccaiḥ, nīcaiḥ* and *samāhāraḥ*. We may only note that the two divisions referred to here are, not mutually exclusive and hence putting them together we get nine different varieties of each vowel, each one of the former having the three latter varieties also. A vowel may further be nasal or non-nasal, so much so that in all we may have eighteen different varieties of a vowel.

9. This *sūtra* defines *anunāsika*. As we shall presently see, *kaṇṭha, tālu, mūrdhan, danta* and *oṣṭha* are the *sthānas* of the production (or manifestation) of the various sounds (or letters). All these are the *sthānas* in the mouth and hence covered by the word *mukha*. But there are some letters which require for their production another *sthāna*, in addition to *mukha;* and that *sthāna* is *nāsikā*. The letters which require *mukha* and *nāsikā* for their production are designated *anunāsika*. It may here be observed that any vowel can be uttered either simply by the mouth, or by the mouth together with *nāsikā* (nose). In the former case it is *ananunāsika;* in the latter, *anunāsika*.

tad ittham etc. The vowels *a, i, u,* and *ṛ* are short, long, or prolated; then they are also *udātta, anudātta* or *svarita;* and finally they may be *anunāsika* or *ananunāsika*. This shows that each of them has eighteen different varieties.

ḷvarṇasya etc. Now the vowel *ḷ* is either short or prolated; then it may be *udātta, anudātta* or *svarita;* and further it may

be *anunāsika* or *ananunāsika*. Hence *ḷ* can have only twelve varieties, the six long varieties being missing.

eṣām api etc.: Similarly *e, o, ai* and *au* have no short variety; and hence these also can have only twelve varieties.

10. In the preceding *sūtra* we have seen that letters are produced at several places in the mouth. Now it has to be observed that they also require *prayatna* (effort). The present *sūtra* gives us the definition of *savarṇa* (similar letter). The letters which require the same (*sthāna* in the) mouth and the same (type of) effort are designated *savarṇa* (of one another). To understand this *sūtra* fully, it is now necessary for us to know the *sthāna* as well as the *prayatna* that is required by the various letters; and this is what has been given in the following lines.

11. *ṛḷvarṇayoḥ* etc. Before actually noticing the *sthāna* and the *prayatna* of the various *varṇas,* it is necessary to note that *ṛ* and *ḷ* are to be considered as *savarṇa* of each other, though they actually are not covered by the definition of *savarṇa* given above. Their *sthānas* are different; that of *ṛ* is *mūrdhan;* while that of *ḷ* is *danta.* And yet they are to be considered as *savarṇa.* This is a *vārttika,* composed by Kātyāyana, who coming about two centuries after Pāṇini sought to remove the deficiency in P's rules. It is not impossible that some deficiencies might have crept into the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in spite of P; but what is also (and even more) likely is that the language which formed the basis of his rules, being a living language, underwent several modifications, thus making P's rules deficient in course of time. It was, therefore, but natural that some rules or portions thereof, which had fallen out of date, had to be rejected; and others, which were found rather too narrow, had to be sup-

plemented. Occasionally some fresh rules also were found necessary. All this need was supplied by Kātyāyana by composing what are known as the *vārttikas*. This fact has been very pithily stated by N in one short sentence, namely *sūtre uktānuktaduruktacintākaratvaṁ vārttikatvam/*. For further information and references see K. V. Abhyankar, *DSG* p. 323f.

akuha etc. In these lines the author is stating the *āsya* (i.e. the exact spot or portion of the *āsya*) where the various letters of the alphabet are produced. Here we have to note the words *ku, cu, ṭu, tu* and *pu* which stand for the letters of the *kavarga, cavarga, ṭavarga, tavarga* and *pavarga* respectively. In these words the vowel *u* is *it* and is meant to form these designations. In 1.1.69 P has laid down that *udit* words serve as designations for all *savarṇa* letters. The terms *ku, cu,* etc. are formed and are to be understood accordingly.

The *sthāna* of *a, ku* (=letters of the *kavarga*), *h* and *visarga* is the throat (*kaṇṭha*); that of *i, cu, y* and *ś* is the palate (*tālu*); that of *ṛ, ṭu, r,* and *ṣ* is the head (*mūrdhan*); that of *ḷ, tu, l,* and *s* is the teeth (*danta*); that of *u, pu* and *upadhmānīya* is the lips (*oṣṭha*); that of *ñ, m, ṅ, ṇ,* and *n* is the (respective place in the mouth) and the nose (*nāsikā*).

edaitoḥ etc.: Here it has to be noted that a mute *t* has been attached to *e* and *ai*. Ordinarily a mute *t* attached to a vowel indicates only the varieties requiring the same *kāla* as the base to which it has been attached (cf. *PA* 1.1.70). Here, however, it is not so. The vowels *e* and *ai* in all their varieties have the same *sthāna* namely *kaṇṭha* and *tālu* together. The same holds good in the case of *ot* and *aut*. Their *sthāna* is *kaṇṭha* and *oṣṭha*. In these cases the mute *t* is attached for avoiding ambiguity (cf. *edaitor ityādau taparatvam asandehārtham eva, BSS,* p. 40).

jihvāmūlīya and *upadhmānīya* are the names given to *visarga* when followed by *k, kh* or *p, ph* respectively. The *sthāna* of the former is the root of the tongue; while that of the latter is *oṣṭha*. Nose (*nāsikā*) by itself forms the *sthāna* of *anusvāra*. An *anusvāra* can thus be distinguished from an *anunāsika* letter, which has for its *sthāna*, not merely *nāsikā*, but *nāsikā* together with some other portion in the mouth.

yatno dvidhā: After discussing the *āsya* (or *sthāna*) in some details, the author now proceeds to discuss the next term in the *sūtra*, namely *prayatna* which, he declares, is of two kinds: (1) internal (*ābhyantara*) and (2) external (*bāhya*). The former is further of five kinds, while the latter has eleven varieties.

ābhyantara prayatna: This effort is termed internal because it takes place (takes effect) inside the mouth and immediately precedes the manifastation of the *varṇas*. The difference in the letters is obviously due to the difference in the *prayatna* which consists in the touch (*sparśa*) of the particular part of the mouth with the tongue. Read: स्पृष्टादीनामाभ्यन्तरत्वं स्वोष्ठ-प्रभृतिकाकलकपर्यन्तदेशरूपास्यान्तर्गततत्तत्स्थानेषु जिह्वाग्रादीनां स्पर्शेषत्स्पर्शदूरा-बस्थानसमीपावस्थानरूपाऽऽभ्यन्तरकार्यकारित्वात् वर्णोत्पत्त्यव्यवहितप्राग्भावित्वात् च बोध्यम् । *BSS*. p.48.

ādyaḥ pañcadhā: The internal effort is generally said to be fourfold (-and not fivefold) (see *Kāśikā* on *PA*. 1.1.9). But our author here, as also in his *Laghu–SK* states that it has five varieties, adding *īṣadvivṛta* to the list given by others. The exact source of this fivefold classification of this effort

is not known. But it is most probably to be seen in the following couplet of the *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*:

aco'spṛṣṭā yaṇas tvīṣan nemaspṛṣṭāḥ śaraḥ smṛtāḥ I

śeṣāḥ spṛṣṭā halaḥ proktā nibodhānupradānataḥ II 38 II.

In this couplet *yaṇaḥ* are said to be *īṣat* (*spṛṣṭa*); and *śaraḥ* are said to be *nemaspṛṣṭa*. It may be seen that the assignment of the *prayatna* to the various letters given in the above couplet closely corresponds to what we find in our text; and it may not be quite wrong if a distinction is made between *īṣat-* and *nemaspṛṣṭa* of the couplet, and if they are taken as corresponding to our author's *īṣatspṛṣṭa* and *īṣadvivṛta* (which would mean slightly *vivṛta* and slightly *spṛṣṭa*) respectively. Also read *MBh* on *PA* 1. 1. 10, *vā* 3. The terms *sparśa, yaṇ, śal* etc. are explained below by the author himself.

bāhyas tvekādaśadhā: Though *vivāra, saṁvāra,* etc. appear to be similar to *vivṛta, saṁvṛta,* etc., we have to remember that the former are external efforts; the latter, internal ones. These are the varieties of external effort because they function after the production of the *varṇas;* and their operations are also external with reference to the *varṇa*. cf. काकलकाधस्ताद्गलबिलसंङ्कोचविकासश्वासोत्पत्तिध्वनिविशेषरूप-नादतद्विशेषरूपघोषाल्पघोषप्राणाल्पत्वमहत्त्वरूपबहिर्भूतकार्यकरत्वेन वर्णोत्पत्त्यनन्तर-भावि-त्वेन चास्यबाह्यदेशस्थत्वेन च बाह्यत्वं विवारादीनाम् *BSŚ* p. 54.

For a clear view of the *sthāna* and the two kinds of *prayatnas* of the various letters of the Sanskrit alphabet see the charts given in the Appendix B.

Similarly for the *pratyāhāras khar, haś, yaṇ, śal, ac*, see Appendix A.

kādayo etc: *sparśa* is the designation given to the twenty-five letters of the Sanskrit alphabet from *k* upto *m* (i.e. the letters of the five classes of consonants known as gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals and labials respectively. cf. *sarvaṁ śeṣo vyañjanāny eva teṣāṁ ādyāḥ sparśāḥ, pañca te pañcavargāḥ // RV. Pr.* 1.6 ff)

12. The *pratyāhāra aṇ* in this *sūtra* is formed with the indicatory *ṇ* in the *sūtra laṇ*, and hence signifies all vowels, semi-vowels and *h*. The *sūtra* lays down that a vowel, a semi-vowel and the terms *ku, cu,* etc. are designations of themselves as well as their *savarṇa*.

apratyayaḥ = *avidhīyamānaḥ*, that which is not enjoined. This goes with *aṇ* only and not with *udit* also. Thus e. g. in *PA* 2.4.3, the substitute is *aś* (= *a* only, and not any other variety of *a*); for it is not *apratyaya*. But in *PA* 6.1.87: 7.4.32; etc. where *a* is not *vidhīyamāna*, it signifies the other varieties also.

tad evam etc: *a* designates all the 18 varieties of *a* (as explained above). The same holds good in the case of *i* and *u*. In the case of *ṛ* and *ḷ* it has to be observed that they have been declared to be *savarṇa* of each other; and further note that *ḷ* has no *dīrgha* varieties. Thus *ṛ* has 18 varieties and *ḷ* has 12; and all these are *savarṇa*. Hence *ṛ* and *ḷ* designate these 30 varieties each in all. Further *e, o, ai* and *au* designate only 12 varieties each. For in their case the *hrasva* varieties are wanting.

yavalā dvidhā: *y*, *v*, and *l* are either nasal or non-nasal, and hence they signify two varieties each.

13. The closest contact of letters with one another, is designated *saṁhitā*.

14. *anantarāḥ* not separated from each other by a vowel. So. *saṁyoga* always stands for a conjunct consonant (comprising any number of consonants not separated from one another by a vowel).

15. *sup* is a *pratyāhāra* formed on the basis of *PA*. 4 1.2 and stands for all the case-endings. Similarly *tiṅ* is based on *PA* 3.4.78 and signifies all personal endings. These are two *pratyāhāras* which P has coined on the basis of his own *sūtras*, on the same principle on which *pratyāhāras* like *al*, *hal*, etc. are formed on the basis of the *Śivasūtras*. Some other *pratyāhāras* which P has coined on the basis of his own *sūtras* are *āp*, *suṭ*, and *taṅ*.

It has to be noted here that P has already laid down a general rule: *yena vidhis tadantasya*, *PA* 1.1.72, according to which the word *anta* is to be supplied in his rules. Thus, for example, *er ac* (*PA* 3.3.56) means *ivarṇāntād ac pratyayo bhavati*. If the word *anta* is thus available by this *tadanta-nyāya*, (or *tadantavidhi*) why has it been used in the present *sūtra?* In the *Kāśikā* this question has been answered in the following words: *padasaṁjñāyām antagrahaṇam anyatra saṁjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidheḥ pratiṣedhārtham.* (on *PA* 1.4.14). The *tadantavidhi* is not applicable in the case of rules or *sūtras* laying down *saṁjñās*. Hence it is that the word *anta* has been put by P in the *sūtra* under discussion.

By way of illustration we may take the *sūtras*, *taraptamapau ghaḥ* (*PA*. 1.1.22) or *tau sat* (*PA*. 3.2.127) or *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā* (*PA*. 1.1.26), where the *saṁjñās gha*, *sat* and *niṣṭhā* have been laid down. Here it is evident that the *saṁjñās gha* etc. stand for the suffixes only, and not words ending in them. In these *sūtras* the *tadantavidhi* is not applicable because these *sūtras* lay down *saṁjñās*. Another *sūtra* resembling the *sūtra* under discussion and having the word *anta* therein is *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ* (*PA*. 1.1.24); while for *sūtras*, not having the word *anta* in them, see *PA* 1.1.7; 26; etc.

saṁjñāprakaraṇa: P has dealt with several *saṁjñās* of his *Śāstra* in the first chapter of his work. For a general discussion and remarks on P's *saṁjñās* read K. V. Abhyankar, *MBh*. of Patañjali, *prastāvanā khaṇḍa* (Vol. VII), p. 163-4; also read pp. 159f, and pp. 230 ff.

16. The operation enjoined in this *sūtra* is generally referred to as *yaṇādeśa*, which term is self-explanatory.

ikaḥ gen. sg. of *ik*, which is a *pratyāhāra* signifying the vowels *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, and *ḷ*, in all their varieties. The genitive used in a *sūtra* laying down an *ādeśa* always has the word *sthāne* understood after it as laid down by P in 1.1.49. Hence *ikaḥ* = *ikaḥ sthāne* (in the place of *ik*). *yaṇ* is a *pratyāhāra* signifying the semivowels *y*, *v*, *r* and *l*; *ac* is a *pratyāhāra* signifying vowels. *Aci* loc. sg. of *ac*. In P's system when an operation is laid down by using a word in loc., that operation is to be performed in connection with what comes immediately before the word in loc. The force of loc. can thus be brought out in the words: *when followed by —*, or *when — follows*. Thus *aci* = when followed by an *ac*, or when an *ac* follows. While

explaining the meaning of the *sūtra,* our author has used the word *saṁhitāyām,* showing thereby that this substitution takes place when *saṁhitā* (combination or *saṁdhi*) is to be effected. Otherwise, of course, there will be no change. In this connection it may be remembered that *saṁhitā* is obligatory under certain circumstances only. Otherwise it depends on the will of the speaker. This has been concisely put in the following couplet:—

saṁhitaikapade nityā nityā dhātūpasargayoḥ /
nityā samāse, vākye tu sā vivakṣām apekṣate // (*SK* on *Śiva.* 5.)

iti sthite: This is the phrase used to state the position arrived at when some further remark is to be made in that connection. Now in the present case the position is *sudhī upāsyaḥ;* and we have to apply here the *sūtra* discussed so far. Before actual application, however, the author thinks it useful to acquaint the student with a technical rule (*paribhāṣā sūtra*) laid down by P himself which one has to observe in all such cases. It pertains to the exact signification or force of the locative. This is what is done in the next *sūtra.*

17. Our author clarifies the implication of the word *pūrvasya* by qualifying it with *varṇāntareṇa avyavahitasya.* P has laid down several *paribhāṣā sūtras* like this in the first chapter of his work; and Bh. has collected some of these together under the heading *paribhāṣāprakaraṇa* (The second section of his *SK*).

18. On the basis of the above rule it is now clear that *yaṇ* is to be substituted in the place of *ik;* and that in the case under consideration this substitution is to occur in the place of *ī* (in *sudhī*), which is followed by *u.* Now the *sūtra* lays down the

substitution of *yaṇ* (i.e. the *four* semi-vowels) for *ik* (i.e. the *four* vowels). But which semi-vowel is to be substituted for which vowel? This question is answered in another *paribhāṣā sūtra,* which states that a substitute will always be *antaratama* (= *sadṛśatama*) to the *sthānin*. Here it may be noted that *āntarya* (or *sādṛśya*) between the *varṇas* can be determined on the basis of *sthāna, artha, guṇa* and *pramāṇa;* and in cases where more types of *āntarya* than one are available, that determined on the basis of *sthāna* should be taken into account. For that is stronger than all the rest. This point has been fully discussed by N under the *paribhāṣā, yatrānekavidham āntaryam tatra sthānata āntaryaṁ balīyaḥ/*. Also read *Kāśikā* and *MBh* on *PA* 1.1.50. In the case under consideration ī will be substituted by *y*, since they are *antaratama* to each other, as can be clearly seen from the table of *varṇas* showing their *sthāna* and *prayatna*. (see Appendix B).

19. Now the position is *sudhy upāsyaḥ*. Here now crops up a peculiar circumstance. P has laid down that the final of a conjunct consonant occurring at a final position of a finished word is elided. Accordingly *y* (the final of *dhy*) must be elided. Note that *saṁyoga* has been defined by P in 1.1.7, which has been already explained above. Strictly speaking *saṁyogānta* means a *pada* which has a *saṁyoga* at the end; and then according to the rule *alo'ntyasya* (*PA* 1.1.52), the *lopa* will substitute the final *al* of a *pada* ending in *saṁyoga*. This is made clear by our author in the *vṛtti* on this *sūtra*.

20. It has been already seen above that a substitute is laid down with reference to a base by putting it in the genitive (the *sthāneyogā* gen.). Now we are told that it is not the whole base (having the gen. ending) that is substituted. Only the final

al (*varṇa*) of such a base (or *sthānin*) takes the substitute. This, however, is the general rule; and we have to remember that there are cases where the whole *sthānin* is substituted (and not merely its final *al*). For this, see *anekālśit sarvasya PA* 1.1.55. (No 42 below). Accordingly now the final *y* (in *sudhy*) will have to be dropped.

21. This reads like a *vārttika*. Actually, however, the *vārttika* conveying this sense is found differently worded as *saṁyogāntasya lope yaṇaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ* (*vā* 1 on *PA* 8.2.23). Pat. reproduces it and adds the word *vaktavyaḥ*, giving *dadhy atra, madhv atra* as illustrations. Then it is explained that here the rule about *lopa* does not apply, because the *yaṇādeśa* depends on two phonemes belonging to two different *padas;* and is, therefore, *bahiraṅga* as compared with *saṁyogāntalopa* which is *antaraṅga*, since it pertains to *eka pada*. Hence by the *paribhāṣā asiddhaṁ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* (*Pbh*, 50), *yaṇadeśa* becomes *asiddha* with regard to *saṁyogāntalopa*. Read: *yaṇādeśasya bahiraṅgalakṣaṇasyāsiddhatvāt saṁyogāntalopo na bhavati*/ *Kāś*. on *PA*. 8.2.23, and *Nyāsa* thereon. Also read *Pbh*, 50.

sudhyupāsyaḥ etc. These are the four illustrations showing the substitution of *y, v, r,* and *l* for *i, u, ṛ* and *ḷ* respectively. It may now be seen how step by step several *sūtras* of P are to be applied and how ultimately the operation known as *yaṇādeśa* is to be established. *Sūtras* 16-21 mark the whole process.

22. *ec* is a *pratyāhāra* signifying the vowels *e, o, ai* and *au*. The gen. here is, of course, *sthāneyogā*. *ayavāyāvaḥ* is nom. plr. *ayavāyāv* (i.e. *ay, av, āy* and *āv*). Our author in his explanation of this *sūtra* supplies the word *aci*, which is obtained by

anuvṛtti from the preceding *sūtra* (as seen in the work of Pāṇini). *anuvṛtti* = continued course or influence of a preceding rule on what follows (*MW*). *Nyāyakośa* is more precise when it explains this term as follows: *pūrvasūtrasthapadasyottarasūtre ākāṅkṣāpūraṇārtham anusaṁdhānam/.*

According to this principle, a word or words from a preceding *sūtra* can be understood as existing in an immediately following *sūtra* and in as many further *sūtras* as necessary, provided there is no break. *anuvṛtti*, therefore, may be rendered as continued existence (of a word or words) from an antecedent *sūtra* into one or more subsequent *sūtras* after it, If, however, a break occurs and the word is required in a *sūtra* after the break, it can be had on the basis of the principle called *maṇḍūkapluti* (a frog's leap). This is said to be only a variety of *anuvṛtti*. Here it may be remembered that this principle of *anuvṛtti* is based on the order of the *sūtras* as given by P. and not on the order in which they have been rearranged by Bh. To facilitate the study of his *SK*, Bh has in almost all cases supplied the word or words which have to be read in the several *sūtras* by *anuvṛtti* or by *maṇḍūkapluti*, though he has not actually made any remark to that effect in each *sūtra*. It is for the student to find out in each case how *anuvṛtti* has worked.

23. In the previous *sūtra* four substitutes have been laid down for four *sthānins*. But how to decide their mutual relation? Which *ādeśa* is meant for which *sthānin?* The answer to this question is given in the present *sūtra* which lays down a general rule for all similar cases. When the *sthānins* and the *ādeśas* etc. are equal in number, they are to be understood as related to one another in the serial order only. In the present

case, for example, *e, o, ai* and *au* are the *sthānins;* and *ay, av, āy* and *āv* are the *ādeśas;* and they are equal in number. Hence according to the principle just enunciated they are related to one another in the serial order only. Thus *ay* is the *ādeśa* for *e; av* for *o, āy* for *ai* and *āv* for *au*. Read: *yatroddeśiṣu sameṣu samānāṁ vidhānam pāghrādiṣu pibādīnām, priyasthirādiṣu ca prasthādīnāṁ, tatraiva yathākramaṁ pravṛttiḥ syāt/* Jñā.

Let us now take up the illustrations: *haraye* (dat. sg. of *hari*). The word *hari* is subject to the designation *ghi* (*PA*. 1.4.7). The dat. sg. ending is *ṅe* (i.e. it is *ṅit*). So when that *ṅe* is appended to *hari*, the final vowel of *hari* takes *guṇa* (*PA* 7.3.111) and thus we have *hare e*. Here is a case for the rule under discussion, namely *ayādeśa;* and accordingly *e* (1st *sthānin*) is substituted by *ay* (the 1st substitute). Thus we finally get the form *haraye*. Similarly is to be explained the form *viṣṇave*.

nāyakaḥ is derived from √*nī* + *ṇvul* (*PA* 3.1.133); then *ṇvul* = *aka* (*PA* 7.1.1); the vowel of √*nī* takes *vṛddhi* (*PA* 7.2.115) and thus we have *nai* + *aka;* and then by the present rule by *āyādeśa* we get *nāyaka*. *pāvaka* may be similarly explained and derived from √*pū*. These four words illustrate the four cases laid down in the present *sūtra*.

24. *vāntaḥ* i.e. the *ādeśa* ending in *v* (from among the four *ādeśas* noticed in the preceding *sūtra*). The *vānta ādeśa* thus is *av* or *āv*. *yi* is loc. of *y;* and *loc*., as we have already seen, means 'when followed by'. *yi pratyaye* = *yādau* (= *yakārādau*) *pratyaye pare*. (Here has been utilised a *pbh*. which will be explained below). Now by the *yathāsaṁkhya* rule *av* and *āv* are

ādeśas for *o* and *au* only; and no special mention to that effect is necessary in the *sūtra*. It may thus be seen how in the composition of his *sūtras* P has tried to bring utmost economy, eschewing from it every word that can be brought into it on the strength of any technical principle.

Let us now study the illustrative words. *gavya* is formed from *go* + *yat* (*PA* 4.3.158). Here *o* is followed by a suffix beginning with *y*. Hence it is substituted by *av* and we get the word *gavya*. *nāvya* is derived from *nau* + *ya* (*PA* 4.4.91); *au*=*āv* by the present rule; and finally *nāvya* (=*nāvā tāryam*).

25. In this *sūtra* P has laid down the *saṁjñā guṇa*, stating that it is the designation given to *at* (= short *a*, *PA* 1.1.70) and *eṅ* (*pratyāhāra*) = *e* and *o*.

26. In the preceding *sūtra* we get the term *at* (i.e. *a* having *t* after it). This act of attaching *t* to a vowel (either after or before it) is known as *taparakaraṇam*. In this *sūtra* P is stating the purpose served by this phenomenon. In one previous *sūtra* we are told that *aṇ* and *udit* letters are *saṁjñās* of *savarṇa*. Now here we are told that attaching *t* to a vowel restricts the *saṁjñā* to only such varieties of that vowel as are *tatkāla*. Thus *a* is a *saṁjñā* for all the 18 verieties of *a;* while *at* is a *saṁjñā* for only those six varieties of *a* which have the same *kāla* as *a*. *Nyāsa* has shown why the word *tapara* in this *sūtra* has to be explained in two ways, namely as *pañcamī tatpuraṣa* and as *bahuvrīhi*. The former applies in *PA* 7.1.9 while the latter is required for *sūtras* like *PA* 1.1.1.

27. *āt* is abl. sg. of *a* (which, not being *tapara*, is not restricted in its *kāla*). In this *sūtra* the word in the abl. (namely *āt*) is actually used; and that in the loc. (namely *aci*) is

obtained by *anuvṛtti*. That the operation stated in this *sūtra* is to be done with reference to the *para* as well as the *pūrva*, follows from the *adhikāra*, *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down *guṇa* as the one substitute (*ekādeśa*) for both the *pūrva* and the *para*. All this is clearly stated by our author in his explanation of the *sūtra*. Here is another instance of how terseness has been marvellously achieved by P. The illustrations are *upendraḥ* (= *upa+indraḥ*) and *gaṅgodakam* (= *gaṅgā+udakam*). *e* and *o* are substituted for *a+i* and *a+u* respectively, (on the basis of the *sūtra*, *sthane'ntaratamaḥ*).

28 *upadeśa* has been already discussed above. In No. 1 above P has stated what consonants in the *upadeśa* are *it*. Here he has done it with reference to vowels. A vowel that is *anunāsika* in the *upadeśa* is *it*. Here it has to be remembered that the *anunāsikatva* of the vowels in the *upadeśa* is not actually shown either in writing or in the recitation. It is to be known and ascertained on the basis of tradition only. In the *Kāśikā* we are clearly told: *pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*/ Bh. is quite explicit in his statement when he writes: *yadyapi sūtrakārakṛto'nunāsikapāṭha idānīṁ paribhraṣṭas tathāpi vṛttikārādivyavahārabalena yathākāryaṁ prāk sthita ityanumīyate iti bhāvaḥ*/ *PM* p. 31.

laṇsūtrastha etc.: The purpose of the above *sūtra* is to show that the vowel *a* in the *Śiva laṇ* is an *it*. Now with this *it a*, it is possible to have the *pratyāhāra ra*, which will designate *r* and *l* (acc. to No. 4 above). There is an acute difference of opinion among ancient authorities on Sanskrit Grammar. This *pratyāhāra* is accepted by Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭoji and, of course, Varadarāja. N., however, does not accept it (see *Kāśikā* on

Śiva 6; *BŚS* p. 7f and also *MBh* on *PA* 1.1.9). It must be noted that our author accepts this *pratyāhāra* and holds that it has been used by P in 1.1.51 (No. 29, the next number).

29. *uḥ* is gen. sg. of *ṛ* (which stands for *ṛ* and *ḷ*, according to the *vārttika ṛḷvarṇa—*) and this *gen.* is *sthāneyogā*. *aṇ* is a *pratyāhāra* signifying *a*, *i* and *u*. Often enough any one of these three vowels is enjoined as a substitute for *ṛ*. *raparaḥ* = having *r* after it, followed by *r*. Acc. *Kāś.* etc. *ra* in this *sūtra* is a *pratyāhāra* and signifies *r* and *l* as said above. This, therefore, means that *aṇ* coming in the place *ṛ* or *ḷ* will be followed by *r* or *l* respectively. It must be noted here that even those who do not accept *ra* as a *pratyāhāra* find the same sense in this *sūtra* (on the basis of the *vā. lasyeti vaktavyam*). Our author, therefore, has naturally avoided the controversy and tacitly accepted the view sponsored by the *Kāśikā* and *SK*. Hence he has given two illustrations, namely *kṛṣṇarddhiḥ* (*kṛṣṇa* + *ṛddhiḥ*) and *tavalkāraḥ* (*tava* + *ḷkāraḥ*) for *ṛ* and *ḷ* respectively.

30. By *anuvṛtti* we have to get into this *sūtra* the words *avarṇapūrvayoḥ* (cf. *apūrvasya* in *PA* 8.3.17), *padāntayoḥ* (by *padādhikāra* in *PA* 8.1.16), and *yavayoḥ* (cf. *vyoḥ* in *PA* 8.3.18). So also we have to read *aśi* from *PA* 8.3.17. The view in this *sūtra* is that of Śākalya. But this view is not necessarily accepted by other *ācāryas;* and this makes the rule optional. This is what our author has stated in his explanation of this *sūtra*. *aś* is a *pratyāhāra* comprising all vowels, semivowels, and the soft consonants (from all the five classes).

31. In this *sūtra* P has laid down a rule which is of the utmost importance in the application of his rules. This *sūtra*

divides the work of P into two parts called *sapādasaptādhyāyī* (chapters 1-7 and the first quarter of chapter 8) and *tripādī* (the last three quarters of chapter 8) respectively. This *sūtra* lays down first of all that what follows (namely the *tripādī*) is *asiddha* (not established i.e. as good as not existing) for the purposes of the application or non-application of the grammatical operations prescribed by the rules in the preceding seven chapters and a quarter. It is further to be noted that this is to be understood as an *adhikāra;* for, it is by doing so that each succeeding *sūtra* can be understood as being *asiddha* with reference to what has preceded it. Read: *pūrvatrāsiddham adhikāraḥ / parasya parasya pūrvatra pūrvatrāsiddhavijñānārtham/ anadhikāre hi samudāyasya samudāye'siddhavijñānam/ vā* 3-5 on *PA* 8.2.1. From this now is clear the further idea implied in this *sūtra,* namely that within the *tripādī* itself, each succeeding rule (*sūtra*) is to be considered *asiddha* (not established and hence ineffective) with reference to the preceding portion including the immediately preceding *sūtra.* Our author has stated both the ideas conveyed by this *sūtra* as explained above. Our author has given *hara iha* and *haray iha* by way of an illustration. In the position *hare iha, e* of *hare,* being followed by *i,* will be changed to *ay,* and we shall have *haray iha* (No. 22). Then by No. 30, the final *y* in *haray* will be optionally elided, because it is followed by *i* (a letter included in *aś*). This gives us (i) *hara iha* and (ii) *haray iha* = *harayiha.* Now in the first alternative a final *a* is followed by an initial *i*; and hence by No. 27 one may be inclined to substitute *e* for *a* and *i,* and have *hareha.* But this is not correct in view of the present *sūtra.* According to this *sūtra,* rule No. 30 (=*PA* 8.3.19) is *asiddha* to rule No. 27 (= *PA* 6.1.27),

and hence the elision of *y* is as good as not accomplished. Hence in the above case, a final *a* is not followed by an initial *i;* for *y* is still present there when No. 27 is to be applied. This only means that there the two vowels (*a* and *i*) do not combine, but remain as they are. The illustration *viṣṇa iha* and *viṣṇaviha* also is to be similarly explained.

32. This, like No. 25 above, is a *saṁjñāsūtra*. As a general rule in such *sūtras* what is stated first is the *saṁjñin* (the matter or thing to be designated); and that which is stated next is the *saṁjñā* (designation). In this *sūtra,* however, this order is reversed; and the *saṁjñā* is placed first and *saṁjñin* later. P has done it for *maṅgala,* as Pat points it cut when he writes: *etad ekam ācāryasya maṅgalārthaṁ mṛṣyatām*. It may further be observed here that in this *sūtra* both *ā* and *ai* are understood as being *tapara* (*taḥ paro yasmāt* in one case, and *tāt paraḥ* in the other). see *MBh* on *PA* 1.1.1. and also *Kāś*.

33. From No. 27 (*PA* 6.1.86) *āt* is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* and the *sūtra* is to be explained in a similar manner. No. 27 is a general rule while the present *sūtra* forms an exception to it. Naturally, therefore, No. 27 can find scope only in cases where this rule does not apply. For as is well-known *apavādaviṣayaparihāreṇaiva utsargā abhiniviśante/*.
kṛṣṇaikatvam etc.: These are the four illustrations to illustrate the *saṁdhi* of a preceeding *a* or *ā* with the following *e, o, ai* and *au*. *kṛṣṇa ekatvam = kṛṣṇaikatvam/ gaṅgā oghaḥ = gaṅgaughaḥ/ deva aiśvaryam = devaiśvaryam/* and *kṛṣṇa autkaṇṭhyam = kṛṣṇautkaṇṭhyam/*

34. From the preceding *sūtra* (i.e. *PA* 1.4.58) we have to get *prādayaḥ* by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* gives us the *saṁjñā upasarga* which applies to *pra* etc. when they are connected with *kriyā*. Otherwise, however, they are designated only as *nipāta* (along with *ca* etc. when not signifying a *sattva*). cf. *PA* 1.4.56-58. These *upasargas* acc. *ṚV. Prā* are 20 in number; while acc. *Gaṇapāṭha, Kāśīka*, etc. their number is 22, because they all read *nis* and *dus* separately from *nir* and *dur*. Read:

prābhyāparānirduranuvyupāpasaṁ-
paripratinyatyadhisūdavāpi /
upasargā viṁśatir arthavācakāḥ
sahetarābhyām, itare nipātāḥ // *ṚV. Prā* 12.20P.

It may be useful to quote here the following couplet giving the accentuation of these *upasargas*:—

viṁśater upsargāṇām uccā ekākṣarā nava /
ādyudāttā deśaiteṣām antodāttas tvabhītyayam //
(*ṚV. Prā* 12.22).

35. This also is a *saṁjñāsūtra* declaring that *dhātu* is the name given to *bhū* etc. which signify an action. The *Kāśikā* tells us that *dhātu* is a *saṁjñā* used by the ancient *ācāryas* and P has taken it over from them along with some other technical terms. An interesting discussion is raised about the exact interpretation of the word *bhūvādayaḥ*. According to some it means *bhvādi* and *vādi* (the word *ādi* being connected with *bhū* as well as *vā* according to the well-known maxim, *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṁ padaṁ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). With *bhū*, *ādi* means *etc.*, while with *vā* it means resembling *vā* (i.e. denotative of action like $\sqrt{}$*vā*). In the

Kāśikā we get the following couplet in this connection:

bhūvādīnāṁ vākāro'yaṁ
maṅgalārthaḥ prayujyate/
bhuvo vārthaṁ vadantīti
bhuvarthā vādayaḥ smṛtāḥ//

Our author, however, has left out the controversy and simply declared that *bhū* etc. expressive of *kriyā* have the designation *dhātu*. And this is but natural in a work like this which is aiming at *bālabodha*.

36. Having given the definitions of the two words *upasarga* and *dhātu,* our author now turns to the *sūtra* containing them. The words *āt* and *vṛddhiḥ* come into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*; and we get here a rule for the combination of *a* or *ā* (of an *upasarga*) and an initial *ṛ* of a *dhātu*. By No. 27 above, the combined *ādeśa* will be *guṇa*. But this *sūtra* sets it aside and declares that it will be *vṛddhi*. This also thus is a *guṇāpavāda*. *prārcchati* (= *pra* + *ṛcchati*) is the illustration for this rule.

37. Fully drawn out on the basis of *anuvṛtti,* this *sūtra* will be: *āt upasargāt eṅi dhātau pararūpam/* The sense of *ekādeśaḥ* is got by the *adhikāra, ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* (as shown above). This *sūtra* obviously is an exception to No. 33 above according to which the combined *ādeśa* here would be *vṛddhi* (i.e. *ā, ai* and *au* as defined in *PA* 1.1.1). The present *sūtra* lays down that the single *ādeśa* will be the form of the latter (i.e. *e* or *o*). Our author has given two examples, namely *pra* + *ejate* (= *prejate*) and *up* + *oṣati* (= *upoṣati*)

38. This is another *saṁjñāsūtra*. It may be observed here that *saṁjñās* are of various kinds; and some of them are quite arbitrary and artificial, carrying no sense but by the *saṅketa* of the grammarians. The designation *ṭi* is one of them. According to the definition given here *ṭi* is the designation given to that part of a word which begins with the last among the vowels belonging to that word. Other such *saṁjñās* found in P's system are *gha, ghi, ghu* and *bha* (for which see Index)

39. This is a *vārttika* of Kātyāyana on *PA* 6.1.93. In this *vārttika* K is noticing a class of current words in which *pararūpa* appears to be the *ekādeśa* in the place of the *para* and (not the *pūrva*, as usual, but) the *ṭi* of the *pūrva*. This *śakandhvādigaṇa* is *an ākṛtigana* (which is defined in the *Padamañjarī* on *PA* 2.1.59 as *prayogadarśanena ākṛtigrāhyo gaṇaḥ ākṛtigaṇaḥ/*). In the *gaṇapāṭha,* however, nine words are given as forming this *gaṇa,* three of which have been taken up here by our author. He also, however, holds this to be an *ākṛtigaṇa;* and hence adds one more word to this list, namely *mārtaṇḍa*. It must be observed here that at least one of these words, namely *manīṣā*, is found in *ṚV*. Similarly *karkandhu* has occurred in several *saṁhitās* of *YV* (see *VBK*). But apparently these words have escaped P's notice; and K was required to make good the deficiency by adding the present *vārttika*. This can be said to show that P by himself may not be a self-sufficient means for interpreting the Veda, which, however does not (and should not be taken to) belittle the worth of P and his work as an aid to Vedic studies.

śakandhu (= *śaka* + *andhu*) explained by the commentator as *śakānāṁ deśaviśeṣāṇām andhuḥ kūpaḥ/*.

Similarly *kārkāṇāṁ rājaviśeṣāṇām andhuḥ* = *karkandhuḥ*. In these words *a* + *a* = *a* (*pararūpa*). *manīṣā* is explained as

manasaḥ īṣā, where the *pararūpa ī* is the *ekādeśa* for the *ṭi of manas* (i.e. *as*) and *ī* (of *īṣā*). Similarly *mṛta* + *aṇḍa* by this *vārttika* gives us *mṛtaṇḍa,* which then with the suffix *aṇ* appended to it, becomes *mārtaṇḍa.* It may be observed that *mārtaṇḍa* is a classical word. In the Veda we have *mārtāṇḍa* (and not *mārtaṇḍa*).

40. In the present *sūtra, dīrgha* is laid down as the *ekādeśa* when the *pūrva* and the *para* are *savarṇa ak* (= *a, i, u, ṛ* and *ḷ*). But *ḷ* has no long (or *dīrgha*) varieties. Hence the present rule applies to only four of the above five vowels, and our author has given four examples for the same. *daitya* + *ariḥ* = *daityāriḥ* / *śrī* + *īśaḥ* = *śrīśaḥ* / *viṣṇu* + *udayaḥ* = *viṣṇūdayaḥ*/ *hotṛ* + *ṛkāraḥ* = *hotṝkāraḥ*/. It may be observed that by permutation and combination many more cases are possible. But those given here are enough to serve the purpose.

41. This is yet another *sūtra* laying down *ekādeśa* (namely *pūrvarūpa* for both). For this rule the *eṅ* (i.e. *e* and *o*) must stand at the end of a *pada* (which is defined by P as *suptiṅantaṁ padam, PA* 1.4.14). *ati* loc. sg. of *at,* which according to *PA* 1.1.70, signifies short *a* only. In this *sūtra,* the word *pūrva-rūpam* (=*pūrvaḥ*) is to be obtained by *anuvṛtti* from *PA* 6.1.107 (through *PA* 6.1.103). Thus the final *e* or *o* and initial *a* are substituted by *e* or *o*. The two examples for this rule are : *hare'va* (*hare ava*) and *viṣṇo'va* (*vṣṇo ava*). It may be observed here that this rule cannot apply if the following vowel is not *a* (short). But in Vedic literature it may be found to apply in cases like *gūḍho "tmā* (*gūḍhaḥ ātmā* = *gūḍho ātmā*), of course, irregularly.

42. This *sūtra* lays down a technical rule regarding *ādeśa* (or substitution). In No. 20 above we have already seen

that as a general rule a substitute is meant to take the place of the final letter (of the base with reference to which the *ādeśa* is laid down). Now in this *sūtra* P has laid down exceptions to that general rule. This *sūtra* contains two exceptions: An *ādeśa* will be *sarvādeśa* (and not merely *antyādeśa*) if (i) it is *anekāl* (i.e. containing more letters than one) or (ii) it is *śit* (i.e. has a mute *ś* appended to it). (The *sūtras ṭāṅasiṅasām ināts yāḥ* and *idamo'nvādeśe'sanudāttas tṛtīyādau* can be cited as illustrating these respectively).

With reference to the former it has to be remembered that for the purposes of this *sūtra* the mute letter or letters appended to the *ādeśa* are not to be taken into consideration. Thus an *ādeśa* can be considered *anekāl* only if it has more letters than one, besides the mute letter or letters if any. This has been fully discussed and explained in the *paribhāṣā*: *nānubandhakṛtam anekāltvam*/, *Pbh* 6. In connection with the latter, it may be noted that the presence of mute *ś* in an *ādeśa* is enough, to make it a *sarvādeśa*. It need not be *anekāl*.

43. This *sutra* contains a counter-exception to No 42; and lays down that an *ādeśa*, even if it is *anekāl*, will be *antyādeśa* only and not *sarvādeśa*, if it has a mute *ṅ* appended to it. (For illustrations see *PA* 7.1.75 *anaṅ*, 6.1.121 *avaṅ*, etc.). Thus it may now be observed that *ādeśas* are either *antyādeśa* or *sarvādeśa*. The *ekāl* and the *ṅit ādeśas* fall in the former category, while the *anekāl* and the *śit ādeśas* fall under the latter. And the *ekāltva* or *anekāltva* of *ādeśas* is to be determined on the basis of the *ādeśa* without the mute letter or letters that may be appended to it.

44. Here we have a *sūtra*, where the above discussion regarding the nature of the *ādeśa* may be found relevant. This *sūtra* refers to the view of some ancient *ācārya* named Sphoṭāyana: which naturally means that other *ācāryas* hold a different view in this respect. This means that the rule given in this *sūtra* is optional. (For a similar phenomenon see No. 30 above).

By *anuvṛtti* we get in this *sūtra* the words *aci* and *goḥ* (from the preceding *sūtra*). So the *sūtra* lays down *avaṅ* as the substitute for *go* when a vowel follows. Now *avaṅ* (divested of its mute letter *ṅ*) is *anekāl* and must as such be *sarvādeśa* (see No. 42 above). The words *iti prāpte* can now be understood as being relevant to the position that would arise as soon as we think of applying the present *sūtra* to a case like *go agram*. The application of rule No. 42 is surely not admissible. The reason for this is to be found in the mute *ṅ* appended to the substitute here. And this is given in the form of a rule in No. 43. Thus No. 43, sets aside No. 42 and shows that *avaṅ* is not *sarvādeśa* but only *antyādeśa*. Hence *go agram* = *gava agram* =*gavāgram* (*a* + *a* = *ā* by No. 4 above).

45. By *anuvṛtti* we get in this *sūtra* the words *goḥ* and *avaṅ* as our author indicates it in his explanation. The illustration is *go indraḥ* = *gava indraḥ* = *gavendraḥ* (*a* + *i* = *e* by No. 27 above). It must be observed here that the substitution in No. 44 is optional while in No. 45 it is obligatory. Hence *go* + *indraḥ* = *gavendraḥ* only; while *go agram* = *gavāgram* or *go'gram* (see No. 37) when the option given by No. 44 is availed of. From this point of view, it is interest-

ing to note that one of our MSS does add *go'gram* (after *gavāgram*).

46. *PA* 8.2.82, *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ*, is an *adhikāra sūtra* which is to be read along with the present *sūtra*. It may be observed here that acc. *PA* 1.3.11 an *adhikāra sūtra* is to be recognised by the *svarita* accent. Like the nasality (*ānunāsikya*) of a vowel, the *svaritatva* also is to be known from tradition only. An *adhikāra* is said to work in three different ways put together in a couplet in *MBh* on *PA* 1.3.11:

adhikāragatis tryarthā viśeṣasyādhikaṁ kāryam
atha yo'nyo'dhikaḥ kāraḥ pūrvavipratiṣedhārthaḥ saḥ//

The modes in which an *adhikāra* exercises its influence also are three as given in the following couplet:

siṁhāvalokitaṁ caiva maṇḍūkaplutam eva ca/
gaṅgāpravāhavac cāpy adhikāras tridhā matāḥ//

It may be seen that *adhikāra* to a large extent resembles *anuvṛtti*. Or perhaps it may be more correct to say that the principle of *anuvṛtti* is only an extension of the principle of *adhikāra*. P has composed several *sūtras* by way of *adhikāra* and has actually defined (or described) *adhikāra*. *anuvṛtti* pertains to some word or words which are required in a *sūtra;* but are not actually included therein, because they are available from a preceding (or at times even from a following) *sūtra*. An *adhikāra* forms so to say a topic; *anuvṛtti* does not do so. An *adhikāra* has also to be distinguished from what is known as *paribhāṣā*. For this read: *adhikāraḥ pratiyogaṁ tasyānirdeśārtha iti yoge yoga upatiṣṭhate/ paribhāṣā punar ekadeśasthitā satī sarvaṁ śāstram abhijvalayati// MBh*. on *PA* 2.1.1.

Before giving an illustration for this *sūtra* our author thinks it necessary to take up another *sūtra* which finds immediate application here.

47. It may be observed here that *Kā*. reads the word *nityam* in *PA* 6.1.1.22 (No. 45 above) and admits it into the present *sūtra* only by *anuvṛtti*. This is, however, against the express wording and explanation found in *MBh*. This *sūtra* prohibits *sandhi* of the *pluta* and *pragṛhya* vowels with a following vowel. This means that *pluta* and *prgṛhya* vowels will always retain their own form when a vowel comes after them. Now V gives the illustration: *āgaccha kṛṣṇa 3 atra gaus' carati/* In this sentence the final *a* of the word *kṛṣṇa* is *pluta* according to No. 46 above; and No. 47 prohibits its combination with a following vowel. In case, however, the vowel is not made *pluta,* there is nothing to prevent its combination with the following vowel, and this is what V has shown when he gives the same sentence combining *kṛṣṇa* and *atra* into *kṛṣṇātra*.

48. The *t* in *īt, ūt* and *et* in this *sutra* is to avoid ambiguity that might arise in its absence. *PA* 1.1.72 has laid down that when an operation is laid down with reference to some qualifying word or letter, it should be performed over a base ending with it. (*tadantavidhi*). Accordingly here *īdūdet* is to be understood as *īdūdedanta* (i.e. ending in *ī, ū* and *e*); similarly *dvivicanam* = *dvivacana*(*pratyayā*)*ntam* (*śabdarūpam*). In the preceding *sūtra* a rule is given regarding the vowels that are *pluta* or *pragṛhya*. The illustration given there, however, refers only to the *pluta;* and an illustration for *pragṛhya* is yet to be given. But before that can be done, one must know what a *pragṛhya* is. This is what the present *sūtra* tells us. And then, of course, by No. 47, we know that a *pragṛhya* vowel also

remains unchanged before a following vowel. V here gives three examples to illustrate the three vowels, mentioned in this *sūtra*.

49. In this and the following *sūtras* P is telling us what words are to be designated *nipāta*. This *sūtra* states that all the words included in the *cādi gaṇa* are designated *nipāta*, provided they do not signify a substance (*sattva*). This *cādigaṇa*, given exhaustively in *Kā* on this *sūtra*, contains about 150 words; and the *gaṇapāṭha* declares that this is an *ākṛtigaṇa*. *Böhtlingk* gives a list of 195 words as *cādigaṇa* and declares that this is an *ākṛtigaṇa*. The need for defining *nipāta* can be seen from No. 51 below.

50. The *prādi* words are twenty or twenty-two in number according as we take *nir* and *dur* as identical with *nis* and *dus* or not. For these see Notes on No. 34 above. The word *asattve* is to be read in this *sūtra*, so that it means that *prādis* are *nipātas*, if they do not signify *sattva*. These *prādis* are designated *upasarga*, when they are connected with *kriyā*. Hence it follows that they can be called *nipāta*, only if and when they are not connected with *kriyā*.

51. Having thus explained the term *nipāta*, our author now turns to the rule in which P lays down the conditions under which a *nipāta* may be *pragṛhya*. Here by the by we may see why Bh. or our author here has altered the order of P's *sūtras*. They are trying to deal with the various aspects or topics of grammar one by one arranged in their own way, while P has dealt with them on quite different lines. The order of *sūtras* given by P is, therefore, naturally not suitable and convenient to Bh and V. Hence they have interpreted the rules in quite a different order as required for their aim.

In No. 48 above, P has told us what is *pragṛhya.* Here is now one more *sūtra* which tells us that a monosyllabic *nipāta* except *āṅ* (=*ā*) *is* designated *pragṛhya* and hence not to be combined with the following vowel (acc. No. 47 above). For the explanation of this *sūtra,* it was quite necessary to state what is a *nipāta;* and for doing this, V has taken up two *sūtras* in which P has defined *nipāta.* There are some more *sūtras* also in which *nipātas* are mentioned. But our purpose is served by these two *sūtras* and hence the other *sūtras* have been left out. *ekāc nipātas* are *i, ā* and *u.* Now *ā* is either *āṅ* (having a mute *ṅ*) or simply *ā* (without any mute letter). Only the latter ā is *pragṛhya.* The illustrations are *i indraḥ/ u umeśaḥ/ ā evaṁ nu manyase/* and *ā evaṁ kila tat* (where *ā* is without mute *ṅ* and signifies *vākya* and *smaraṇa* respectively). In other senses, however, *ā* is *ṅit* and hence not *pragṛhya.* Thus *ā uṣṇam* = *oṣṇam* (where *ā* = *īṣat,* and is *ṅit*).

52. Here it has to be observed that though the *sthānins* and the *ādeśas* are equal in number, their mention in this *sūtra* is not to be considered as being *yathāsaṁkhya* on the basis of *PA* 1.3.10, No. 23 above, as is indicated by the *sūtra śāt* (*PA* 8.4.44, No. 53 below). *Stoḥ* is *sthāneyogā ṣaṣṭhī;* and means 'in the place of *s* and (the letters) of the *tavarga'.* The word *ścu* means *ś* and (the letters of) the *cavarga.* The words *stu* and *ścu* are to be considered as *samāhāradvandva* irregularly masculine in gender. Cf. *storiti samāhāradvandvaḥ sautram puṁstvam* (Bh).

Our author has given four illustrations: two illustrations where *s* has come in contact with *ś* and *c* (the first letter of the *cavarga*) respectively; and two of *t* and *n* (the first and the last letters of the *tavarga*) coming in contact with *c* and *j* (the first and

the 3rd letters of *cavarga*) respectively. There is no problem when *s* is substituted by *ś*. But when *tu* is to be substituted by *cu*, we have to remember the rule *sthāne'ntaratamaḥ* (*PA* 1.1.50, No. 18 above). Hence in illustrations 3 and 4, the first and the fifth letters of *tu* are substituted by the first and the fifth letters of *cu* respectively.

53. Here by *anuvṛtti* we get *toḥ na* from the preceding *sūtras*. Thus the rule is : *tu* is not substituted by *cu* when preceded by *ś* in spite of rule No. 52 above. The words *viśna* and *praśna* illustrate this point, the *n* coming after *ś* having remained unchanged.

54. This *sūtra* is to be explained exactly like No. 52 above. The illustrations given here also are exactly parallel to those given under No. 52, but for the third one, namely *peṣṭā*. This illustration is given to show that the substitution of *stu* by *ṣṭu* can occur even if *ṣ* is followed by *tu* (unlike the case in rule No. 53).

55. The ablative is to be understood in the light of *tasmād ityuttarasya* (*PA* 1.1.67). The word *stoḥ ṣṭuḥ* are to be got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down an exception to the above general rule regarding cerebralisation; and means that *stu* is not substituted by *ṣṭu*, if it comes after *ṭu* at the end of a *pada*. This is illustrated by *ṣaṭ santaḥ* and *ṣaṭ te* (one for *s* and the other for *t* coming after *ṭ* at the end of a *pada*). P has defined *pada* as a word ending in a case-ending (*sup*) or a personal ending (*PA* 1.4.14). In three further *sūtras* also he has given particular circumstances under which a formation, even without having *sup* or *tiṅ* attached to it, is to be designated a *pada*.

anām in this *sūtra* lays down an exception to the remaining part of the *sūtra*. According to it, the *pratiṣedha* in this rule does not apply to *nām* (gen. plr. ending). Thus *nām* coming after *ṭ* will change its *n* to *ṇ* acc. No. 54. The illustration for this is *ṣaṇṇām*. Here *ṣaṣ* = *ṣaṭ* (No. 58) + *nām*. Now this *ṣaṭ* is a *pada* (by *PA* 1.4.17) and yet as stated here, the *nām* coming after it is changed to *ṇām*, and the *padānta* *ṭ* also is changed to *ṇ* (by *PA* 8.4.45, *vā*.).

56. P's *anām* by the time of Kāt. was found to be too narrow and hence the latter added two more words thus making the list up to date. Thus the phohibition of cerebralisation of *tu* coming after (*padânta*) *ṭu* does not apply to the gen. plr. ending *nām* and the words *navati* and *nagarī*. The case of *nām* we have already seen. Illustrations for the other two words are: *ṣaṇṇavati* and *ṣaṇṇagaryaḥ*. In these illustrations *ṣaṭ* is a *pada* and hence *ṭ* is a *padānta*. In the former, *ṣaṭ* is the first member of a compound and hence a *pada;* in the latter, of course, it is nom. plr. of *ṣaṣ*.

57. In this *sūtra, toḥ* is gen. of *tu;* and *ṣi* loc. to be understood in the light of *PA* 1.1.66, No. 17 above. The words *na ṣṭuḥ* are obtained by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. *san ṣaṣṭhaḥ* illustrates this exception to rule No. 54 above.

58. The word *ante* here as in several other *sūtras* of P means *padānte*. For the *pratyāhāras, jhal* and *jas,* see the Appendix. What the rule means is : a class letter is substituted by the 3rd letter of its class at the end of a *pada*. The word *vāgīśa* is an illustration. *vāc* becomes *vāk* (by *PA* 8.2.30) and then *k* is changed to *g* by the present rule. Thus we get *vāgīśaḥ*.

59. *yar* is a *pratyāhāra,* for which see appendix. The word *padānta* is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. *yaraḥ* is *sthāneyogā ṣaṣṭhī*. *anunāsike* (loc.) is to be understood acc *PA* 1.1.66, No. 17 above. In the place of *yar,* when it is followed by *anunāsika,* a corresponding *anunāsika* is optionally substituted. Hence from *etad murāri* we get *etanmurāri* or *etadmurāri.*

60. The above rule of P, however, in course of time appeared to stand in need of some supplementation; and Kāt has supplied the need.

The loc. *pratyaye* is to be understood as usual (acc. *PA* 1.1.66, No. 17 above). The word *bhāṣā* in P's system stands for the language of common parlance as opposed to *chandas, mantra, veda* etc. which signify the language of the Veda. Thus, *tat+mātram* and *cit+mayam* are two illustrations where the preceding letter is changed to a corresponding nasal owing to the following nasal belonging to a *pratyaya*. Thus after *saṁdhi* we can get only *tanmātram* and *cinmayam* respectively.

61. The cpd expression *parasavarṇa* is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti; toḥ* is *sthāneyogā ṣaṣṭhī;* and the loc. *li* is to be understood as usual acc. *PA*. 1.1.66 (No. 17 above). Here the *sthānin* is *tu* (i.e. *tavarga*) and the *ādeśa l* is the substitute for all the letters contained in it. Our author has given only one illustration in which *t* is changed to *l*. Here we have to note, though our author has not included that point here, that *n* when followed by *l* is changed to *anunāsika l.* Read: *nakārasyānunāsiko lakāraḥ/* Bh. The illustration for this as given by Bh is: *vidvān likhati* = *vidvāl̐likhati.*

62—64. Here we have to read the word *savarṇaḥ* by *anuvṛtti;* and gen. *pūrvasya* is only ordinary genitive (*sambandhasāmānye*). The gen. *sthāstambhoḥ* is *sthāneyogā ṣaṣṭhī,* while *udaḥ* is abl. to be understood acc. *PA* 1.1.67 (No. 63). The *ādeśa* here is laid down by using the abl. and hence it will be the substitute for the *uttara* (i.e. the letter which comes after it immediately without any intervention). But the matter is not quite clear as to what exactly is to be considered *uttara* as stated above. It, therefore, is made clear by another rule in which P lays down that when an operation is to be performed over the *para* (or *uttara,* as opposed to *pūrva*), it is to be done over the *ādi* thereof. Now in the present case, the *sthānin* is *sthā,* or *stambh* both of which are *uttara*. Hence the substitution which is to be done for them will be done for their *ādi* (initial letter) only. Thus now it is clear that in the case *ud sthā* (or *ud stambh*), the *s* (of *sthā* or *stambh*) is to be substituted by a *savarṇa* of the *pūrva* (i.e. *d*). The *savarṇatva* is determined on the basis of *sthāna* and *prayatna* (of two varieties), and acc. *PA* 1.1.50 (No. 18 above), the substitute is to be determined on the basis of *antaratamatva* of *sthāna*. After all this consideration one can see that the substitute for *s* is *th,* and we come to *ud ththā* (or *ud thtambh*) = *ud tthā* (or *ud ttambh*) by *cartva* (i.e. substitution of *t* for *th*).

65. In this position comes an occasion for the application of another rule, namely *PA* 8.4.65 (No. 65).

In this *sūtra halaḥ* (abl. = *halaḥ parasya*) is to be read by *anuvṛtti*. The gen. *jharaḥ* is *sthāneyogā,* and the loc. *jhari* etc. is to be understood acc. *PA*. 1.1.66 (No. 17 above). The *lopaḥ* also comes in by *anuvṛtti,* as also the word *anyatara-*

syām (from *PA* 8.4.62). Thus in the present case a *jhar* (= *t*) coming after *hal* (= *d* of *ud*) is followed a *savarṇa jhar* (=*th*) and hence will be optionally elided. Hence now the position will be *ud thā* or *ud tthā* (*ud tambh* or *ud ttambh*). And here arises an occasion for one more rule.

66. In this *sūtra*, on the basis of *anuvṛtti* we get the words *jhalām* and *carcḥ* from the preceding *sūtras*. In the present case *d* (a *jhal*) is followed by *t*, which is a *khar;* and hence it will be changed to a *char* (i.e. *t*), which is closest to it acc. *PA* 1.1.50 (No. 18 above). Thus ultimately we have *utthānam* (or *uttthānam*) and *uttambhanam* (or *utttambhanam*). Our author for the sake of simplicity has not given the forms that we have included in brackets here.

67. In this *sūtra, jhayaḥ* is abl. and *haḥ* is gen. The words *pūrvasya savarṇaḥ* come in by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. For the *pratyāhāra jhay* see Appendix. Now the *pūrvasavarṇa* substitute for *h* must be the fourth letter of the class. Hence *vāk hariḥ* = *vāgghariḥ* or *vāg-hariḥ* (Here it may be observed that *k* of *vāk* is changed to *g* by *PA* 8.4.53).

68. In this *sūtra* also *jhayaḥ* and *anyatarasyām* are to be read by *anuvṛtti*. The word *padānta* also is obtained by *anuvṛtti* from *PA* 8.4.59 (No. 73 below).

Thus in the case of *tat śivaḥ*, *ś* has come after *t* (= a *jhay*) and is followed by *i* (= an *aṭ*). Hence by the present rule, *ś* will be changed to *ch* optionally. Thus we get *tat chivaḥ* or *tat śivaḥ*. But by No. 52 above, *t* of *tat* will be changed to *c*; and hence finally we get *tacchivaḥ* or *tacśivaḥ*.

69. The above rule of P was found deficient in view of certain occurrences in the current language and hence Kāt

has tried to bring it up to date by the present rule. He suggests that the *chatva* laid down by P should be declared to take place when (a *ś* standing after a *jhay*) is followed by *am* (rather than *aṭ*). It may be remembered that *aṭ* = all vowels and *y, v, r;* while *am* = all vowels, semi-vowels, and nasals. The need for this *vārttika* is shown by cases like *tat ślokena,* where *ś* is followed by *l* which does not come under *aṭ*. But it is changed to *ch* optionally. Hence instead of *aṭi* we should say *ami*. Thus ultimately, we get *tacchlokena* or *tacślokena.*

70. In this *sūtra* we get the word *padasya* by *adhikāra* (*PA* 8.1.16 *padasya,* which *adhikāra* extends upto *PA* 8.3.55, *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*). This gen., namely *padasya,* is *sthāneyogā,* and *maḥ* in this *sūtra* is intended as its *viśeṣaṇa,* and is as such to be understood to stand for *māntasya.* (For a lucid statement of this point read K. V. Abhyankar, *DSG,* P 168 under *tadantavidhi*). The word *hali* is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra.* In the illustration *harim vande, m* at the end of a *pada* is followed by *v* (a *hal*) and is, therefore, changed to *anusvāra;* and thus we get *hariṁ vande.*

71. The gen. *naḥ* is to be understood as *sthāneyogā,* qualified by *apadāntasya.* Secondly by the force of *ca, maḥ* from the preceding *sūtra* is attracted into this *sūtra.* Thus the present rule lays down that *anusvāra* is substituted for *m* and also *n* not standing at the end of a *pada,* when followed by a *jhal.* Illustrations are *yaśāṁsi,* and *ākraṁsyate.* Now before the case-ending *jas,* the word *yaśas* takes the augment *num* by

PA. 7.1.72 *napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ;* and then the vowel preceding this *ns* (*sānta saṁyoga*) is lengthened by *PA* 6.4.10,

sāntamahataḥ saṁyogasya. Thus we finally come to the position *yaśāns i*. Here is an occasion for the present rule by which *n* (*apadānta*) followed by *s* (a *jhal*) is changed to *anusvāra;* and finally we have *yaśāṁsi*. In *ākraṁsyate* we see *apadānta* *m* being changed to anusvāra when followed by *s* (a *jhal*).

72. *yayi*, loc. sg. of *yay*, a *pratyāhāra* for which see Appendix. The substitute is *parasavarṇa* (i.e. a nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs). The word *śānta* illustrates this rule. √*śam*, when *kta* is appended to it, lengthens its penultimate *a* (by *PA* 6.4.15) and the position is *śām ta*. Here *m* is changed to *anusvāra* (by *PA* 8.3.24, No. 71 above) and by this rule, the *anusvāra* is changed to *parasavarṇa* (i.e. *n*) to make the form *śānta*.

73. The substitution of *anusvāra* by *parasavarṇa* is optional if the *anusvāra* is at the end of a *pada*. In the illustration given by our author, the *m* (at the end of a *pada* namely *tvam*) is changed to *anusvāra*. This *anusvāra* (at the end of the *pada*) is followed by *k* (a *yay*) and hence is changed to *ṅ* (*savarṇa* of the *para k*) optionally. Hence we have *tvaṁkaroṣi* or *tvaṅkaroṣi*.

74. Here it has to be observed that abl. and loc. have been used together. In such cases we have to apply the *pbh*. *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyān;* and understand loc. in the sense of gen. Thus the word *si* (*loc.*) here stands for gen. as is shown by *Kāś*, where it is explained as *sakārādeḥ padasya*. (This is according to N. Pbh. 70). The augment *dhuṭ* has mute *ṭ*. This shows that it is to be prefixed to *s* for which it is laid down. Then by *PA* 8.4.55, *dh* is changed to *t*. Before, however, taking up an illustration, our author thinks it necessary to refer to another rule which pertains to *āgama*.

75. *ṭakitau* = *ṭitkitau* = *ṭit āgama* and *kit āgama*. Here we have another illustration of the general rule: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṁ padaṁ pratyekam abhisambadhyate/*. Another point to be noted here is the *yathāsaṁkhyanirdeśa*. After noting this rule our author takes up the illustration: *ṣaḍ santaḥ*, where *ḍ* is followed by *s;* and hence the augment *dh* will be prefixed to *s*. Then as stated above *dh* is changed to *t;* and finally *ḍ* also is changed to *ṭ* by the same rule. Thus with the augment, we get *ṣaṭtsantaḥ;* and without the augment we shall have *ṣaṭsantaḥ*.

76. In this *sūtra* we have to read *si* and *dhuṭ* from the preceding *sūtra* (by the force of *ca*) and then the *sūtra* is to be explained exactly like No. 74 above. The illustration is *san saḥ* = *santsaḥ* or *sansaḥ*.

77. Here *naḥ*, got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*, is to be explained like *maḥ* in No. 70 above. Hence our author writes *nasya padāntasya* (which is only another way of saying *nāntasya padasya*). *śi* (loc. sg. of *ś*) = *śe* = when followed by *ś*. The augment *tuk* is *kit;* and hence is to be appended at the end. Hence in the illustration taken by our author (namely *san śambhuḥ*), the final *n* being followed by *ś* takes the *āgama tuk* and we have, *sant śambhuḥ*. Then by No. 52, *t* is changed to *c* (*sañc śambhuḥ*); then by No. 68 *ś* is optionally changed to *ch* (*sañcchambhuḥ* or *sañcśambhuḥ*). These two we get in the case of *tugāgama*. In the absence of this *āgama* we shall have two more, namely *sañchambhuḥ*, *sañśambhuḥ*. In all these four, the final *n* (of *san*) is changed to *ñ* by No. 52.

78. In this *sūtra* we get the words *hrasvasya tuk* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra* (i.e. *PA* 6.1.70). Thus it

lays down the *tugāgama* for a *hrasva* (short vowel) when followed by *ch*. The illustration given here is *acchā*. *SK* gives *svacchāyā* and *śivacchāyā* as illustrations, and explains how this *t* is changed to *c*. These illustrations are clearer than the one given here.

79. In this *sūtra* the words *dīrghāt*, *che*, and *tuk* are obtained by *anuvṛtti*. Thus the *tugāgama* in the case of a long vowel standing at the end of a *pada*, when followed by *ch* is optional. This is illustrated by *lakṣmīcchāyā* or *lakṣmīchāyā*. Here also the change of *t* to *c* is to be explained as above.

80. This *sūtra* comes under *padādhikāra* and hence has to be explained like No. 70 above. Thus *Kā* has actually explained it as *sakārāntasya padasya* etc. which, of course, means *padāntasya sasya* etc. The substitute laid down is *ru* (=*r*). Thus the general rule in the case of *s* (at the end of a word) is that it is substituted by *r*. Furthermore, *ru* is also the *ādeśa* for *sajuṣ*. Now since *r* is *ekāl*, it will be only *antyādeśa* (acc. *PA*. 1.1.52). Here we have to remember the *paribhāṣā*, *nānubandhakṛtam anekāltvam*, already discussed under No. 42 above.

81. By *anuvṛtti* we get *raḥ* in this *sūtra* and because this *sūtra* comes under *padādhikāra*, this *raḥ* is to be explained as *rephāntasya padasya*, which is the same as *padāntasya rasya* (as our author has it). Thus by No. 80 a final *s* is changed to *r*; and by this rule, a final *r* is changed to *visarga*. This change occurs when *r* is followed by a *khar* or by nothing.

82. We have to read *khari* in this *sūtra* by *maṇḍūkapluti* from the preceding *sūtra* (*PA* 8.3.15); and it is laid down that the *visarga* followed by a *khar* is changed to *s*. In *viṣṇuḥ trātā* the *visarga* is followed by *t* (a *khar*) and hence changed to *s*, thus giving us *viṣṇustrātā*.

83. In this *sūtra* the word *visarjanīyasya* is got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra* (i.e. *PA* 8.3.35) and the word *visargasya* is obtained from *PA* 8.3.34, (No. 82 above). Thus the rule is : a *visarga* is optionally retained, when followed by a *śar*. When it is not retained, naturally it is first changed to *s* (by No. 82), which then is changed to *ś* (by No. 52 above). Thus *hariḥ śete* = *hariś śete* or *hariḥ śete*.

84. The word *visarjanīyasya* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*, and *kupvoḥ* is loc. *du*. of *kupū* (= letters of the *kavarga* and the *pavarga*). Here the *yathāsaṁkhyanyāya* applies and the *ādeśas* are to substitute the *sthānins* respectively (by *PA* 1.3.10, No. 23 above). The *ca* in this *sūtra* indicates that *visarga* (that is enjoined in the preceding *sūtra*) may also be retained. Four illustrations are given, two for *ku* and two for *pu*, where we see that the *visarga* followed by *k* (*ku*) is optionally retained or changed to *jihvāmūlīya*, and when followed by *p* (*pu*) optionally to *upadhmānīya*.

85. The word *kupvoḥ* is obtained from the preceding *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti;* and similarly *saḥ* and *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ* are to be understood by the same principle. Thus in this *sūtra* P is sanctioning the change of *visarga* to *s* or *ṣ* (in the case of *kaḥ kaḥ* etc.), where it is followed by *ku* or *pu*. It may be noted here that this substitution cannot be regularly established on the strength of any general rule of P; and hence special sanction has to be given to them. Secondly *kaskādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa*, of which 18 words have been enumerated. But the list is not exhaustive. (For the words in this *gaṇa*, see *GRM* 1.18f). In the words cited by our author, *visarga* followed by *k* is changed to *s;* and this *s* is then changed to *ṣ*, if it is preceded by *iṇ* (i.e.

all vowels except *a* and *ā*, the semi-vowels and *h*) according to *PA*. 8.3.39.

86. The words *ati* and *ut* are obtained in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. Here we find the abl. *aplutāt ataḥ* and the loc. *aplute ati* used simultaneously. This *sūtra* is laying down the *ādeśa ut* for *ru* only, as shown by the gen. *roḥ*. Take, for example, *śivaḥ arcyaḥ*. Here *visarga* of *śivaḥ* is in fact *s*, which therefore, is changed to *ru* (by No. 80); and then by the present rule, this *ru* is changed to *u*. Thus the position now is *śiva u arcyaḥ*. Here No. 27 gets scope and we get *śivo arcyaḥ;* and then after *ekādeśa* by No. 41 we finally have *śivo'rcyaḥ*.

87. With the required *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*, this *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *ru* by *u* when preceded by *a* and followed by *haś* (a soft consonant). Thus, *śivaḥ vandyaḥ* = *śivo vandyaḥ*. This also is to be explained as above.

88. The word *roḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. It is to be noted that *bhos* etc. are *nipātas* ending in *s*. Hence by No. 80 their final *s* will be changed to *ru*. Now the present rule lays down that this *ru*, if followed by *aś*, is changed to *y*. The present rule has one more point in it. The *ru* is changed to *y* if it is *apūrva* (preceeded by *a* or *ā*) and followed by *aś* (i.e. a vowel or a soft consonant). This latter part is illustrated by *devāḥ iha* = *devār iha* (: = *s* = *ru* by No. 80) = *devāy iha* (*ru* = *y* by 88.) = *devā iha* (elision of *y* by No. 30). As for *bhos* etc., the position would be *bhos devāḥ* = *bhor devāḥ*. (*rutva* by No. 80) = *bhoy devāḥ* (*yatva* by No. 88). Similarly *bhagoy namaste* and *aghoy yāhi*.

89. In this *sūtra,* the word *sarveṣām* means *sarveṣām matena.* In No. 30, the *lopa* of *y* is attributed to Śākalya alone. This makes *yalopa* optional. In the present *sūtra* no such option is left; and it is laid down that *y* is elided in the opinion of all; of course, when it is followed by a consonant (*hal*). Hence from the positions noted above we finally get *bho devāḥ /bhago namaste/* and *agho yāhi* (with the elision of *y* in each case).

90. The word *ahan* (= *ahnaḥ*) is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. The nom. *raḥ* gives the *ādeśa r* which being *ekāl* is only *antyādeśa*. The word *asupi* (loc.) means when not followed by a *sup* i.e. when followed by any thing else but a case-ending. Thus *ahan ahan* = *ahar ahar* = *aharahaḥ* (final *r* is changed to *visarga* by No. 81). Similarly is to be explained *ahan gaṇaḥ* = *ahargaṇaḥ*.

91. The word *lopaḥ* is obtained from the preceding *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. The *sūtra* means: *r* followed by *r* is elided. Before giving an illustration, our author takes up one more *sūtra* which is immediately required.

92. *Kā* explains *ḍrhalope* as *ḍhakārarephayor lopo yasmin sa ḍhralopaḥ*. Thus in simpler words *ḍhralopa* means that *ḍh* or *r*, which has caused elision of (a preceding *ḍh* or *r*). The loc. *ḍhralope* is to be understood in the usual sense as laid down by P in *PA* 1.6.66, No. 17 above. Hence this word means when (the *ḍh* or *r*) which have caused the *lopa* of *ḍh* or *r* follow. The rest of the wording in this *sūtra* is quite clear. The illustration for this and the preceding *sūtras* together is *punar ramate* = *puna ramate* (by No. 91) = *punā ramate* (by No. 92).

manas ratha etc. Here V is explaining the formation *manoratha.* The starting position is *manas ratha,* where by *rutva* (No. 80) we get *manar ratha.* Now at this stage two rules come in for application simultaneously, namely No. 87 which would change *ru* to *u*, and No. 91 which would cause *r* to be elided. Thus there is a problem as to which of these two rules should be applied. For, it is quite impossible to apply both of them simultaneously. Hence V takes up the next *sūtra.*

93. *vipratiṣedha* = *tulyabalavirodha* i.e. conflict between two or more rules equal in their force. If the rules are not *tulyabala,* naturally the stronger one among them will set aside the rest (the weaker ones); and hence there can be no conflict at all. Hence for conflict or *vipratiṣedha,* the rules coming in for application in a particular situation must be of equal status and simultaneously applicable. In such cases P lays down that the *para* shall be accepted and the *pūrva* shall be set aside. The *paratva* and the *pūrvatva,* of course, are to be determined on the basis of the order of the *sūtras* as found in *PA*. Now the two rules, that have come up simultaneously for application here, are No. 87 (*PA* 6.1.114) and No. 91 (*PA* 8.3.14); and hence No. 91 being *para* will have to be applied; and the *r* will have to be dropped.

94. But this is not correct. For, in the case under consideration one rule (No. 91) is from the *tripādī* which P has declared to be *asiddhā* (as good as non-existing) with reference to the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* (and within the *tripādī* itself, each succeeding rule is *asiddha* with reference to each preceding rule). Here then No. 91 is *asiddha* to No. 87, so much so that No. 87 will

stand unobstructed in its application. Hence *manar ratha* will change to *mana u ratha* = *mano ratha* (No. 27) = *manoratha.*

95. The gen. du. *akoḥ etattadoḥ* is not *sthāneṣaṣṭhī* but only *sambandhasāmānye ṣaṣṭhī*. Similarly *anañsamāse* is not the loc. as in *sūtra* 1.1.66 (No. 17) but only *adhikaraṇe saptamī*. The loc. *hali*, however, is to be understood acc. No. 17. Thus the *sūtra* means—the *su* (i.e. nom. sg. ending), belonging to the pronouns *etad* and *tad*, not having the letter *k* (*akac*) appended to them, and not standing in or forming part of a *nañ-samāsa*, is elided, when it (i.e. *su*) is followed by a consonant (*hal*).

Illustrations are: *eṣaḥ viṣṇuḥ* = *eṣa viṣṇuḥ/ saḥ śambhuḥ* = *sa śambhuḥ* (for *eṣaḥ* and *saḥ* respectively). *eṣakaḥ rudraḥ* = *eṣako rudraḥ/* Here the pron. *etad* is not *ak* (without *k* affixed to it) as required by the present rule. Hence this rule will not apply in this case. So the rules to apply here will be No. 80 (causing *rutva*), No. 87 (causing substitution of *ru* by *u*), and finally No. 27 causing *guṇa* as *ekādeśa*. This shows why the word *akoḥ*, in the *sūtra*, is necessary.

The need for *anañsamāse* is established by the illustration *asaḥ śivaḥ/* Here the *su* of *asaḥ* is not dropped because therein the pron. *tad* stands in a *nañsamāsa*. The rule to apply here would be No. 83 and the *su* (= *visarga*) will be optionally changed to *visarga* or *ś* and we shall have *asaḥ śivaḥ*, or *asaś śivaḥ*. Similarly the need for hali in the *sūtra* is shown by illustrations like *eṣaḥ atra* = *eṣo'tra*. In this illustration *su* of *eṣaḥ* is not dropped because it is not followed by a *hal* as required by the present rule. The rules to apply here are No. 80 (causing *rutva* of *su*), then No. 87 (causing *ru* to

be changed to *u*), then No. 27 (causing *guṇa* as *ekādeśa*) and finally No. 41 (causing *o* as *ekādeśa*), thus ultimately giving *eṣo'tra*.

96. This *sūtra* defines *prātipadika,* a technical term which P has used several times. It may be broadly translated as *nominal base,* as distinguished from a verbal base or root which is designated *dhātu*. V has explained *apratyayaḥ* as *pratyayaṁ pratyayāntaṁ ca varjayitvā*. Here we have to remember *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya ca grahaṇam/* N. *Pbh.* 23, which gives us the additional meaning given by our author. Bh. declares that the two senses can be obtained here on the basis of *tantra* etc. Read: *sūtre tantrādinobhayaṁ vivakṣitam/ āvartite pratyayapade pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣayā tadantagrahaṇāt tadantaparyudāsaḥ. BŚŚ* P. 329. It must further be observed that the *pratyayas,* intended in this *sūtra,* are the case endings only. This becomes evident from the fact that bases ending in *kṛt* and *taddhita pratyayas* are declared to be *prātipadika* in the next *sūtra*. This *sūtra* can be said to pertain to what may be called simple or primary (or *avyutpanna*) *prātipadikas,* while the derivative *prātipadikas* form the subject of the following *sūtra*.

97. Here again we have to apply the *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* noticed above. The specific mention of *kṛt* and *taddhita* here is to remove the *paryudāsa* that can be drawn from the word *apratyaya* in the preceding *sūtra*. The inclusion of the word *samāsa* indicates that only *samāsa* can be a *prātipadika;* but not a *vākya*. Read Bh. *SK*.

98. In this *sūtra* are enumerated all the case endings which are often referred to by the *pratyāhāra sup*. These are 21

endings in all, forming seven triads, each triad containing the endings indicating the three numbers (sg., du., and plr.) respectively. The seven triads correspond to the seven cases from nom. upto loc., voc. being (almost) identical with the nom. (see No. 110 below). The endings have been capped with some mute letters (or *anubandhas*) which serve some useful purposes. These have been discussed separately elsewhere.

99. The *ṅī* and *āp* in this *sūtra* are *pratyayas;* and hence by the *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* must be said to stand for *ṅyanta* and *ābanta* respectively. Furthermore it has to be observed that the *anubhandhas ṅ* and *p* in *ṅī* and *āp* serve the purpose of *sāmānyagrahaṇa* and hence *ṅī* stands for *ṅīn*, *ṅīp* and *ṅīṣ*, and *āp* stands for *cāp*, *ṭāp*, and *ḍāp*. Thus this *sūtra* declares that the case-endings are appended to *prātipadikas* and to words ending in the fem. suffixes noticed above. It has further to be observed that this is an *adhikārasūtra* holding its sway upto the end of *PA* 5.

100. Here P has used the *pratyāhāra sup,* formed on the basis of his own *sūtra*. Other such *pratyāhāras* used by him are *tṛn*, *suṭ*, *āp* and *taṅ* (at *PA* 2.3.69; 1.1.43, 7.2.112 and 1.4.100 respectively).

101. The words *dvi* and *eka* in this *sūtra* are *saṁkhyāpara* and not *saṁkhyeyapara;* and hence stand for *dvitva* and *ekatva* respectively.

102. In this *sūtra* P has defined the term *avasāna,* which he has used several times in his work.

After these preliminary matters now we have to proceed to declension which has been treated by our author (after Bh.)

under six different heads; namely (1) *ajanta puṁliṅga,* (2) *ajanta strīliṅga,* (3) *ajanta napuṁsakaliṅga,* (4) *halanta puṁliṅga,* (5) *halanta strīliṅga,* and (6) *halanta napuṁsakaliṅga,* [This topic is known as *ṣaḍliṅgī*].

We start with the word *rāma*. Now to it is added the ending *su* (= *s* nom. sg.) and we have *rāma s*. Then by Nos. 80 and 81, *s* is changed to *ru* and then to *visarga,* so that finally we have the form *rāmaḥ*. Now in nom. du. we have *rāma rāma au.*

103. In the above position we see that the words *rāma* and *rāma* are identical in form (*sarūpa=samānarūpa*) and are followed by one case-ending (*vibhakti*). In such cases, P lays down that only one of the *sarūpa* words is to be retained. Thus we get *rāma au,* which by No. 33 results in *rāmau.*

But before this form is finally established one difficulty is likely to be raised, on the basis of the following *sūtra.*

104. The word *prathamayoḥ* here stands for the first two cases (i.e. nom. and acc. case endings). Read: *prathamāśabdo vibhaktiviśeṣe rūḍhaḥ/ tatsāhacaryād dvitīyāpi prathamety uktā/ Kāś.* The word *akaḥ* is to be got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra* (namely No. 40). The word *aci* also is obtained by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* evidently is laying down the *ekādeśa* (see notes on No. 27), namely *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha,* for both the *pūrva* and the *para*. If this rule is applied to the case under consideration (namely *rāma au*), we shall get the form as *rāmā* (and not *rāmau*). This, however, is not desirable and has to be warded off. This can be done by the next *sūtra.*

105. The word *pūrvasavarṇadīrghaḥ* is to be got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the previous *sūtra*. This *sūtra* forms an exception to No. 104 and prohibits the substitution of *pūrvasavarṇadīrghaḥ* in cases where *a* is followed by *ic* (i.e. any vowel except *a* or *ā*). Hence in the case under consideration the difficulty, occasioned by the possible application of No. 104, is removed. For, that rule does not apply here at all. Hence, as stated above, by No. 33 we can have the form *rāmau* (from *rāma au*).

106. Since *dvi* and *eka* are specifically mentioned in No. 101 above, it follows that *bahu* signifies a number from *tri* onwards; and the present *sūtra* lays down that the plr. ending is appended to nominal bases to denote any number from three onwards. So when three *rāmas* are to be spoken of, we shall have *rāma rāma rāma+jas.*

107. Now the consonant *j* in *jas* is to be considered mute. This is shown by this *sūtra*, in which the words *pratyayasya* and *ādiḥ* come by *anuvṛtti*. The designations *cu* and *ṭu* signify letters of the *cavarga* and the *ṭavarga* respectively according to No. 12. Now since *j* is an *it,* the case-ending actually is reduced to *as;* and the position now is *rāma rāma rāma as*. Then by No. 103, only one *rāma* will remain, and the other two will be dropped. Thus we have *rāma as.*

But here comes another difficulty: No. 1 declares that a final consonant in an *upadeśa* is *it* and is, therefore, dropped (acc. No. 3). In the present case, therefore, the final *s* (of *as*) stands in the danger of being dropped; and this has to be avoided. This is done in the following two *sūtras.*

108. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *vibhakti* for the case-endings (*sup*) and personal endings (*tiṅ*), which are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. It may be observed that some of the *taddhita* suffixes also have been given the designation *vibhakti* (cf. *PA* 5.3.1-26). For the present, of course, we are concerned with *sup* and *tiṅ* endings only. So *jas* is a *vibhakti*.

109. Now we are told that *tu* (letters of the *tavarga*), *s*, and *m* belonging to a *vibhakti* are not *it*. Hence the *s* of *jas* is not *it* and as such is not to be dropped. The danger, pointed out in No. 107 above, is thus got over; and hence finally we have *rāma*+*as* = *rāmās* (by No. 40 or No. 104) = *rāmāḥ* (by Nos. 80 and 81).

110. It has been already stated above that voc. is the same almost as the nom. In this *sūtra* P has laid down the designation *saṁbuddhi* as signifying the voc. sg. The other two numbers are given the name *āmantrita* (cf. *PA* 2.3.48). The word *saṁbodhana* given by V is got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras* (i.e. *PA* 2.3.47-48).

111. Now we have to form the voc. sg. and the position is *rāma*+*su* = *rāma*+*s*.

At this stage V takes up the *sūtra* laying down the designation *aṅga*. In the present case the case-endings are enjoined after a *prātipadika* (here, *rāma*, see No. 99) and hence *rāma* has the designation *aṅga*, when it is followed by a case-ending (i.e. *s* here).

112. In this *sūtra* the words *lopa* and *hal* are got by *anuvṛtti*. By the *tadantavidhi* (*PA* 1.1.72), the first word

in this *sūtra* means *eṅantād hrasvāntāt ca* (*aṅgāt*) as our author has explained it. Thus *rāma+s* = *rāma,* because here the *s*, which belongs to *saṁbuddhi* and comes after an *aṅga* ending in *eṅ* or in a short vowel, is dropped. It may be observed that the word *he* used before *rāma* is a particle of address and indicates that the word following it is a voc. form.

113. Now for acc. sg. the position is *rāma+am*. Here by No. 104, *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* may come as *ekādeśa*. But the present *sūtra* supersedes it and lays down that the *ekādeśa* will be *pūrvarūpa,* when the acc. sg. ending (i.e. *am*) follows. The words *akaḥ* and *aci* are got here by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. Hence we get *rāma+am* = *rāmam*.

The acc. du. *rāmau* is identical with nom. du. and is to be similarly explained.

114. For acc. plr. the position is *rāma+śas*. Here the consonant *ś* is an *it* and has to be dropped. This is shown by the present *sūtra*. The words *pratyaya* and *ādi* are got here by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras;* and the *nañ* (in the word *ataddhite*) has the force of *paryudāsa*. The term *ku* signifies the letters of the *kavarga*. In 1.3.5-8, P has laid down what initial consonants are to be considered *it*. Accordingly *ś* (of the case-ending *śas*) is *it* and thus the pure case-ending is *as* only.

115. The word *tasmāt* in this *sūtra* has reference to *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* of the preceding *sūtra*. The gen. *śasaḥ* is *sthāneyogā*. The *ādeśa n* (the final *a* is only *uccāraṇārtha*) being *ekāl* is only an *antyādeśa*. Thus *s* is substituted by *n* and we get *rāmān*.

116. Here a doubt may be raised. In *rāmān*, *n* has come after *r* and the two are intervened by *ā*, *m* and *ā* only. Hence by the present *sūtra*, the *n* should be changed to *ṇ*.

117. But this difficulty can be warded off by *PA* 8.4.37, because P has laid down therein that *n* cannot be changed to *ṇ* if it stands at the end of a *pada*. Now *rāmān* is a word ending in a *sup* and hence is a *pada* (*PA* 1.4.14). In this *sūtra*, *naḥ* (=*nakārasya*), *ṇaḥ* (=*ṇakāraḥ*) and *na* (=not) are got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. Hence ultimately the acc. plr. of *rāma* is *rāmān*.

118. For instr. sg. the position is *rāma*+*ṭā*. Now this *sūtra* gives us the various substitutes for the various case-endings when they come after a base ending in *a*. The word *ataḥ* (which by *tadantavidhi* means *akārāntasya* sc. *aṅgasya*) is got by *anuvṛtti* from *PA* 7.1.9. In this *sūtra*, there are three *sthānins* (= *ṭā*, *ṅasi* and *ṅas*) and three *ādeśas* (namely *ina*, *āt* and *sya*); hence by No. 23, they are to be taken as being *yathāsaṁkhya*. Secondly, all the *ādeśas* are *anekāl;* and must, therefore, be *sarvādeśa* (by No. 42). Thus the *sūtra* ultimately means that *ina*, *āt*, and *sya* are the instr., abl. and gen. sg. case-endings in the case of a base ending in *a*. Thus *rāma*+*ṭā* = *rāma*+*ina* =*rāmena* (by No. 27) = *rāmeṇa* (by *PA*. 8.4.1-2).

119. For instr. du. the position is *rāma* + *bhyām*. In the present *sūtra*, we have to read the whole of the preceding *sūtra*, namely *ato dīrgho yañi*, by *anuvṛtti*. Now in the case under consideration *rāma* is a base (*aṅga*) ending in *a* and the case-ending *bhyām* is a *sup* beginning with a *yañ* (see Appendix for this *pratyāhāra*). Hence the final *a* of the *aṅga* is lengthened and we get *rāmābhyām*.

120. For instr. plr. the position is *rāma+bhis;* and here this *sūtra* lays down that after bases ending in *a,* the ending *bhis* is substituted by *ais*. Now here V reminds us of No. 42 and shows that *ais* is a *sarvādeśa*. Hence the position now becomes *rāma+ais*. Then by No. 33, *vṛddhi* (i.e. *ai*) will be the *ekādeśa* for *a* and *ai*, so that finally we have *rāmaiḥ*.

121. For dat. sg. the position is *rāma+ṅe* (=*e*). The present *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa ya* (which is *anekāl* and hence *sarvādeśa*) for *ṅe*. The words *ataḥ* and *aṅgāt* are to be got from the preceding *sūtras* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we get now *rāma+ya*.

122. This *sūtra* tells us that an *ādeśa* is like the *sthānin,* except for the purposes of the *alvidhi*. We have seen that a substitute is *antyādeśa* or *sarvādeśa* according as it is *ekāl* or *anekāl*. Now the present *sūtra* tells us that an *ādeśa* will be like its *sthānin* and thus overtake all the operations belonging to it, but will not take over its *ekāltva* or *anekāltva*. So far as this is concerned it will be decided by the (actual form of the) *ādeśa* itself and not (by that of) the *sthānin,* while other operations will be determined by the *sthānin* only. In the case under consideration the *ādeśa ya* will be like its *sthānin, ṅe;* and hence be a *sup;* and hence by No. 119 will cause the lengthening of the final *a* of *rāma*. Thus ultimately we get *rāmāya*.

Similarly dat. du. would be *rāma+bhyām* = *rāmābhyām* (by No. 119).

123. Now for dat. plr. the position is *rāma+bhyaḥ*. The present *sūtra* tells us that before a plr. case-ending beginning with a *jhal,* the final vowel of a base ending in *a* is substituted by *e*. Thus we get *rāmebhyaḥ*.

124. The word *avasāna* means *virāma*, the end. The words *jhalām* and *caraḥ* are to be got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. Thus acc. to the present *sūtra*, a final *jhal* is changed to a corresponding *car*. This is illustrated in abl. sg.: *rāma*+ *ṅas* = *rāma* + *āt* (by No. 118) = *ramāt* or *rāmād* (by the present *sūtra*).

The abl. du. and plr. are exactly like dat. du. and plr. and have to be similarly explained. In gen. sg. by No. 118, *ṅas* is substituted by *sya* and we get the form *rāmasya*.

125. For gen. du. the position is *rāma* + *os*. Now in the present *sūtra* we have to read *ataḥ* (= *adantasya aṅgasya*) by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. So *e* is to be substituted for the final *a* of an *aṅga* before *os*. Hence we have *rāma* + *os* = *rāme* + *os* = *rāmay os* (by No. 22) = *rāmayoḥ* (final *s* being changed to *ru* and then to *visarga* by Nos. 80 and 81 respectively).

126. In gen. plr. the position is *rāma* + *ām*. Now the present *sūtra* lays down that the ending *ām* will take the augment *nuṭ* when applied to words ending in a short vowel or to words technically designated *nadī* (cf. *PA* 1.4.3-6) or to words ending in *ā*. This *āgama*, being *ṭit* has to be prefixed to *ām* and thus we get *rāma* + *nām*.

127. The word *nāmi* in this *sūtra* is loc. sg. of *nām* (which stands for the gen. plr. ending with the augment *n* prefixed to it). Before this *nām*, the base lengthens its final vowel. Hence we get *rāmā* +*nām* = *rāmāṇām* (by *PA* 8.4.1-2).

loc. sg. is *rāma* + *i* = *rāme* (by No. 27); loc. du. is the same as gen. du. *rāmayoḥ* and is to be similarly explained.

128. Now we come to loc. plr. for which the position is *rāma* + *su* = *rāme* + *su* (by No. 123). Now the present *sūtra* lays down that *s* which is an *ādeśa* or belongs to a *pratyaya,* not standing at the end of a *pada,* is changed to *ṣ,* provided it comes after *iṇ* or *ku*. The words *iṇkoḥ, apadāntasya, saḥ, mūrdhanyaḥ* are obtained by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. Hence we get *rāmeṣu*. It has to be noted here that P has laid down only the *mūrdhanyādeśa* for *s*. But we have to determine the exact *mūrdhanya* which is to be substituted. This is to be done on the basis of No. 18, by taking into consideration the *prayatna* in the present case. Hence our author points out that *s* which is *īṣadvivṛta* is to be substituted by *ṣ* which also is *īṣadvivṛta*.

Thus we have completed the declension of the word *rāma;* and V tells us that all (masculine) words (i.e. nouns and adjectives) ending in *a* are to be similarly declined.

129. Now V passes on to the declension of pronouns (ending in *a*). In the present *sūtra* P has given the technical term *sarvanāma* and stated that it is the designation given to *sarva* and other words. V in his exposition of this *sūtra* has given us a list of words which are included in the *sarvādigaṇa*. For this *gaṇa* read:

sarvānyaviśvobhayanemayattadaḥ

kiṁyuṣmadasmaddvibhavatyadetadaḥ /

ubhatvadanyonyaparasparetarāḥ

samaḥ simatvānyataretaretarāḥ //

ekedamadaso jñeyā ḍataro ḍatamstathā
svam ajñātidhane nāmni kāladigdeśavṛttayaḥ/
pūrvāparāvaraparā uttaro dakṣiṇādharau
antaraṁ copasaṁvyāne bahiryoge tathā'puri//

GRM 1.21-23.

Our author, however, has not given here a complete list of the words in the *sarvādigaṇa*.

130. It must be observed here that V has noticed only those forms of the pronouns which differ from the corresponding forms of a noun ending in *a*. Now nom. sg. and du. of *sarva* are *sarvaḥ, sarvau* (exactly like *rāmaḥ, rāmau*). Hence V passes over them and takes up nom. plr. for which the position is *sarva* + *jas* (=*as*).

Now in the present *sūtra* P has laid down the *ādeśa śī* for *jas* coming after a pronoun ending in *a* (the words *adantāt* and *sarvanāmnaḥ* being got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*). The *ādeśa śī* being *śit* is *sarvādeśa* (by No. 42); and hence we have *sarva* + *ī* = *sarve* (by No. 27).

131. The acc. and the instr. forms are exactly like those of a noun ending in *a;* and hence V passes on to dat. sg. for which the position is *sarva* + *ṅe* (=*e*). Now the present *sūtra* (supplemented by *ataḥ* = *akārāntāt,* and *ṅeḥ* by *anuvṛtti*) lays down *smai* as the *ādeśa* for *ṅe* coming after a pronoun ending in *a*. Hence we get *sarvasmai*. The dat. du. and plr. forms are like those of *rāma*.

132. This *sūtra* lays down *smāt* and *smin* as the *ādeśas* for *ṅasi* and *ṅi* (of abl. and loc. sg.). These *ādeśas* being *anekāl*

are *sarvādeśa*, like *smai* above. Hence abl. sg. is *sarvasmāt*. The abl. du., abl. plr., gen. sg. and gen. du. are like those of *rāma;* and thus we come to gen. plr. for which the position is: *sarva* + *ām*.

133. The word *āmi* is loc. sg. of *ām* and means 'when followed by *ām*'. This *sūtra* lays down the augment *suṭ (s)* to be prefixed to *ām* (because it is *ṭit*) and hence we get *sarva* + *sām*. Then by No. 123 *sarve* + *sām* = *sarveṣām* (by No. 128).

loc. sg. is *sarva* + *ṅi* = *sarva* + *smin* (No. 132) = *sarvasmin*.

Having thus explained the paradigms wherein a pronoun ending in *a* differs from a noun ending in *a*, V declares that the other paradigms of a pronoun (ending in *a*) are to be obtained exactly like those of a noun ending in *a*. He further remarks that all pronouns ending in *a* are to be similarly declined.

Hereafter V gives all the forms of the pronoun *ubha*. In some editions of *SK* etc. we get *ubhaśabdo nityaṁ dvivacanāntaḥ*, which is found in one of our Mss. also. It may here be observed that for *ubha* in du. we get only three distinct forms: (1) nom. and acc. *ubhau;* (2) instr., dat. and abl. *ubhābhyām;* and (3) gen. and loc. *ubhayoḥ*. These are to be explained like the corresponding forms of *sarva* (or *rāma*).

134. This *sūtra* has occurred under No. 129 above and is a *gaṇasūtra*, which is the name given to *sūtra*-like statements which are occasionally found to occur in the *gaṇapāṭha*. It may be observed here that some of these *gaṇasūtras* are found incorporated in P's *sūtrapāṭha* itself. This and the next two

sūtras are of this type. For details see ABHYANKAR, *DSG*, p. 129.

From this *sūtra* (considered as a *gaṇasūtra*), one may be led to consider that these words (i.e.*pūrva* etc.) have the designation *sarvanāman* before all case-endings. But the present *sūtra* as a *sūtra* of P (with the words *vā* and *jasi* got by *anuvṛtti*) lays down that they will have that designation before *jas* (nom. plr.) only optionally. Hence nom. plr. of *pūrva*, for example, would be *pūrve* (as *sarvanāman*) and *pūrvāḥ* (as not *sarvanāman*). These forms are to be explained exactly like *sarve* and *rāmaḥ* above.

135. Here is another *gaṇasūtra* which is included in P's *sūtrapāṭha*. The word *sva* = (1) self (*ātman*), (2) belonging to oneself (*ātmīya*), (3) kinsmen (*jñāti*) and (4) property, belongings (*dhana*). Now in the first two senses, the word *sva* has the designation pronoun, optionally, before *jas* (of nom. plr.). Hence the forms would be *sve* or *svāḥ*. But in the other two senses, it is to be considered as noun only; and hence nom. plr. would be *svāḥ* only.

136. This is the third *gaṇasūtra* that is included in P's *sūtrapāṭha*. The word *antara* also means (1) external (*bāhya*), (2) a garment (*paridhānīya*), and (3) intervening space (*madhyadeśa*). In the first two senses it is to be considered optionally as a pronoun before *jas* (of nom. plr.); but in the third sense it is to be considered as a noun only. Hence in the former the nom. plr. is *antare, antarāḥ;* while in the latter it is *antarāḥ* only. In connection with *antare antarā vā gṛhāḥ* the *Kāśikā* remarks: *nagarabāhyāś cāṇḍālādigṛhā ucyante/;* also read its note on *upasaṁvyāna*: *upasaṁvyānaṁ paridhānīyam ucyate, na prāvaraṇīyam/*.

137. We have to read the whole of the preceding *sūtra* (No. 132) into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus here we see that the substitution of *smāt* and *smin* for *ṅasi* and *ṅi*, in the case of *pūrva* and the following eight words, is optional. Thus abl. sg. and loc. sg. of *pūrva* would be *pūrvasmāt, pūrvāt;* and *pūrvasmin, pūrve*. The same holds good in the case of *para,* etc.

Having thus pointed out the differences, our author remarks that in all other cases these words are to be declined like *sarva* only.

138. The whole of the preceding *sūtra, vibhāṣā jasi* (*PA*. 1.1.32) is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Similarly the word *sarvanāmāni* is to be read from *PA* 1.1.27. Thus like the two preceding *sūtras,* this *sūtra* also lays down the *sarvanāma saṁjñā* for the words *prathama* etc. before *jas* (= *as* of nom. plr.). Hence nom. plr. of *prathama* would be *prathame* or *prathamāḥ*. Here it has to be observed that *prathama* etc. are not included in the *sarvādigaṇa* and they are not *sarvanāman*. That is why in the other cases they are to be declined like *rāma*. The words *pūrva* etc. (of the three preceding *sūtras*) are included in the *sarvādigaṇa* and hence they are to be declined like *sarva* (and not like *rāma*). The word *nema* is included in the *sarvādigaṇa* and as such is to be declined like *sarva* in all other cases.

Attention may here be drawn to the triple classification of *vibhāṣā*, namely *prāpte vibhāṣā, aprāpte vibhāṣā* and *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*. In this *sūtra* the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* is optional in the case of *prathama* etc. before *jas*. Now this *saṁjñā* is already *prāpta* in the case of *nema* and *ubhaya*. Hence

the option in their case is *prāpte vibhāṣā*. In the case of *prathama* etc., on the other hand, the *saṁjña* is not *prāpta*. Hence in their case the option is *aprāpte vibhāṣā*. Thus this *sūtra* is really a good illustration of the third variety, namely *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*. For a full discussion and illustrations of *vibhāṣā* in all the varieties read *MBh* on *PA* 1.1.44. 'One more point to be noted in this *sūtra* is that here *prathama, carama* etc. are all *prātipadikas*. Only *taya* is not so; it is a suffix. It stands for formations in *taya*, according to the maxim, *pratyayagrahaṇe tadantā grāhyāḥ*.

139. *tīyasya* etc. On *PA* 1.1.36 **K** has added the following *vārttika*: *vāprakaraṇe tīyasya ṅitsūpasaṁkhyānam;* and this is virtually taken up here by our author when he writes *tīyasya ṅitsu vā*. By *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā, tīyasya* means *tīyāntasya* (i.e. formations in the suffix *tīya* such as *dvitīya* and *tṛtīya*). By this *vārttika* these words get the designation *sarvanāman* before *ṅit* case-endings (i.e. dat., abl., gen. and loc. sg) optionally. Hence we get optional forms such as *dvitīyāya, dvitīyasmai; dvitīyat, dvitīyasmāt;* and *dvitīye, dvitīyasmin*. This holds good in the case of the other similar formation, namely *tṛtīya*. (The suffix *tīya* is laid down by P for *dvi* and *tri* in two *sūtras, PA* 5.2.54-55).

140. Now our author takes up the word *nirjara* and quotes the *sūtra* enjoining the substitution of *jaras* optionally for *jarā*, when followed by a case-ending beginning with a vowel. (the word *aci* is got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra* i.e. *PA* 7.2.100).

Here evidently the *ādeśa jaras* is *sarvādeśa*, since it is *anekāl*. But we have to observe some more technical rules

here. Actually the *ādeśa* is laid down for the word *jarā* only. But as a corollary of *PA* 1.1.72, *yena vidhis tadantasya,* we have another *paribhāṣā, padāṅgādhikāre tasya ca tadantasya ca, Pbh.* 29 on which N writes: *padam aṅgaṁ ca viśeṣyaṁ viśeṣaṇena ca tadantavidhiḥ/ yena vidhiḥ* (*PA* 1.1.72) *ity asyāyaṁ prapañcaḥ/*. Thus in the present case the substitute *jaras* will replace *jarā* (by itself) or *jarā* at the end of a compound. But in *nirjara* we do not get the word *jarā* at all! And the *ādeśa* is to replace only what has been mentioned (i.e. the word *jarā,* in the present case). For, the rule is: *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti, Pbh.* 12. This objection, however, can be ruled out by another *paribhāṣā, ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat, Pbh.* 37. In the present case, *jara,* at the end of the word *nirjara,* is only an *ekadeśavikṛta* (form) of *jarā;* and hence stands on par with *jarā.* Hence it is quite regular to substitute *jaras* for *jara* in the word *nirjara.* (of course, before case-endings beginning with a vowel).

Now nom. sg. of *nirjara* is *nirjaraḥ* (like *rāmaḥ*). For nom. du. the position is *nirjara* + *au;* and here *jaras* will be optionally substituted for *jara* (in *nirjara*). Thus the forms will be *nirjarau* (like *rāmau*) and *nirjaras au* = *nirjarasau.* Similarly before all vowel case-endings *nirjara* will have two forms such as *nirjarāḥ, nirjarasaḥ* etc.

It is clear that before vowel terminations, *nirjara* is to be declined optionally (*pakṣe*) like *rāma,* when *jaras* is not substituted for *jara.* Our author further tells us that it will be declined like *rāma,* before consonantal case-endings also. For, there the substitution of *jara* by *jaras* is altogether absent.

141. Now V turns to the declension of masc. words ending in *ā;* and takes up the word *viśvapā.*

nom. sg. would be *viśvapā* + *s* = *viśvapāḥ* (*s* = *ru* by No. 80 and then = *visarga* by No. 81).

Now for nom. du. the position is *viśvapā* + *au*. Here V reminds us that No. 105 (*PA* 6.1.102) does not apply; for, P has by this *sūtra* clearly prohibited it in the case of words ending in a long vowel (here *dīrgha* = *dīrghānta* by *tadantavidhi*), when followed by *jas* or by *ic*. (i.e. any vowel except *a* and *ā*). Hence the rule to apply in the present case is No. 33 and the form then would be *viśvapau*. Similarly nom. plr. would be *viśvapā as* = *viśvapāḥ* (by Nos. 40, 80 and 81 respectively). voc. sg. and acc. du. are identical with nom. sg. and nom. du. respectively; while acc. sg. is *viśvapā am* = *viśvapām* (No. 40).

142. Now for acc. plr. the position is *viśvapā śas*. Before arriving at the final form, we have here to take note of several things. First among these is the technical term *sarvanāmasthāna;* and this is what P has given us in this *sūtra*.. The word *suṭ* here is a *pratyāhāra* based on *PA* 4.1.2 and stands for the first five case-endings. *PA* 1.1.42 declares *śi* (nom. and acc. plr. neut. case-endings) to be *sarvanāmasthāna* and further adds (*PA* 1.1.43) that in the case of words that are not neut., *suṭ* (= the first five case-endings) have that designation. Thus in the present case *śas* (= *as* of acc. plr.) is not *sarvanāmasthāna*.

143. In this *sūtra* P has given us another *saṁjña*, namely *pada*. P has defined a *pada* in general as *suptiṅantaṁ padam* (*PA* 1.4.14). In the following three *sūtras* (*PA* 1.4.15-17) he has stated cases where the designation *pada* may apply to a base even though it may not end in *sup* or *tiṅ*. The word *svādiṣu* in our *sūtra* means 'when followed

by *pratyayas* beginning with *su* (i.e. nom. sg. case-ending). This *sūtra* does not give the limit upto which the *pratyayas* are to be taken up for this *sūtra*. V tells us that we have to take all *pratyayas* that P has laid down from *PA* 4.1.2 upto the *pratyaya kap*, laid down in *PA* 5.4.151. According to the present *sūtra* then a word (or form) ending in any of these *pratyayas* is to be designated *pada*, provided that the *pratyayas* are not *sarvanāmasthāna*. Accordingly, therefore, *viśvapā* would be a *pada* when it is followed by *as* (acc. plr.), since it is not *sarvanāmasthāna* as we have seen it above.

144. In this *sūtra* P has given us another technical term namely *bha*. The base gets the designation *bha* when it is followed by *pratyayas* beginning with *y* or with a vowel (from among the *pratyayas* spoken of in the previous *sūtra*, No. 143). According to this *sūtra, viśvapā* can be designated *bha* also (when it is followed by *śas*). Thus we see that the base *viśvapā* has two possible designations: (i) *pada* (by No. 143) and (ii) *bha* (by No. 144).

145. Now V takes up a rule in which P lays down that within the prescribed limits (i.e. from *PA* 1.4.1 upto *PA* 2.2.38) bases or words will have only one designation (even if according to various rules more designations than one may appear to be possible). But here the question is: which designation? V answers the question in the words: *yā parā anavakāśā ca*. This answer is, of course, based on *PA* 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam;* and on the maxim *sāvakāśa-niravakāśayor niravakāśaṁ balīyaḥ*. Also read: *anavakāśā hi vidhayo bādhakā bhavanti, MBh* on *PA* 5.4.154. In the

present case naturally the designation *bha* is *para* and hence applicable to the base *viśvapā*.

146. Here we have one more peculiar instance of the *tadantavidhi*. The word *bhasya* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* (*bhasya PA* 6.4.129) and *lopaḥ* comes in by *anuvṛtti*. Thus according to this rule the final vowel *ā* of a word ending in a root is dropped, when it is followed by a vowel termination. Now *viśvapā* is a word satisfying these conditions; and hence its final *ā* will be dropped before *as* (acc. plr. case-ending). Thus we get *viśvapā* + *as* = *viśva-paḥ* (*s* being changed to *ru* by No. 80; and *ru* to *visarga* by No. 81). All the other paradigms of *viśvapā* can now be similarly formed. It must be observed that all the words (e.g. *śaṅkhadhmā*) ending in *ā* and ending in a root are similarly declined. But if they do not end in a root, as for example, the word *hāhā*, they will not follow this rule; and hence will not drop their final vowel. Hence acc. plr. of *hāhā* is *hāhān* (like *rāmān*, see No. 116).

Now V turns to words ending in *i* and takes the word *hari* for illustration. nom. sg. is *hari* + *s* = *hariḥ* (Nos. 80-81). Nom. du. is *harī* (by No. 104).

147. Now for nom. plr. the position is *hari* + *jas*. Now by this *sūtra* the final short vowel of a base (*aṅga*) takes *guṇa* when followed by *jas* (of nom. plr.). Thus we get *hare* + *as*. Then by No. 22, *haray* + *as* = *harayaḥ* (by 80-81). It may be observed that the whole of the preceding *sūtra* (i.e. No. 148 here) is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*.

148. In this *sūtra* the word *sambuddhau* is to be got by *anuvṛtti* from the previous *sūtras*. *sambuddhi* has been already mentioned as a technical name for voc. sg. case-ending (No. 110). Hence voc. sg. form of *hari* would be (*he*) *hare*.

In acc. there is nothing particular to be noted; and the forms of the sg., du. and plr. are *harim*, *harī* (like nom. du.), and *harīn* (by Nos. 104 and 115).

149. The word *śeṣa* (the rest) stands for (i) the word that ends in *i* or *u* but has not the designation *strī*; and (ii) the word that has the designation *strī* but not the designation *nadī*. In P's system *strī* is the designation of all feminine words; while the designation *nadī* is given to only such feminine words as end in *ī* or *ū*. (read- *yūstryākhyau nadī*, *PA* 1.4.3). V has mentioned only the former, because here we are concerned with words ending in *i* (and *u*) only and not with words ending in *ī* (and *ū*). In this *sūtra* P has laid down the designation *ghi* to denote all the words (not feminine in gender) ending in *i* or *u*, except the word *sakhi*. Thus the word *hari*, according to this *sūtra*, has the designation *ghi*.

150. In this *sūtra* P has used *āṅ* to signify the instr. sg. case-ending (*ṭā*). Here we have to observe that predecessors of P had used some technical terms and also some *anubandhas*; and further that some of these terms (such as *āṅ* here) have been adopted by P only occasionally; while some others such as *dhātu* have been adopted throughout his work. It is further to be noted that when P borrows such terms from the predecessors occasionally, the *anubandhas* appended to them have to be considered redundant; for they are found to be ineffective.

The word *ghaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. The gen. *āṅaḥ* is *sthāneyogā* gen; and the *ādeśa nā*, being *anekāl*, is a *sarvādeśa*. Thus *hari* + *ā* = *hari* + *nā* = *hariṇā* (by 8.4.1-2), instr. du. and plr. would be *haribhyām*, *haribhiḥ*.

151. The word *guṇaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. The *ṅit* case-endings are those of dat., abl., gen. and loc. sgg. According to this *sūtra*, words ending in *i* (or *u*) not fem. in gender, undergo *guṇa* before *ṅit* case-endings. Thus dat. sg. is *hari*+*e* = *hare*+*e* = *haray*+*e* (by No. 22) = *haraye*. Dat. du. and plr. respectively are *haribhyām* and *haribhyaḥ*.

152. For abl. sg. the position is *hari*+*ṅasi* (i.e. *as*) = *hare*+*as* (No. 151). Now by No. 22 *hare* should be changed to *haray*. But that rule is here superceded by the present rule which enjoins *pūrvarūpa* as *ekādeśa* in the case where *eṅ* is followed by the case-endings *ṅasi* and *ṅas* (i.e. abl. and gen. sgg.). The word *pūrvaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra* (i.e. *PA* 6.1.105 *ami pūrvaḥ*). Thus abl. sg. would be *hareḥ*. abl. du. and plr. are the same as dat du. and plr. gen. sg. is the same as abl. sg. gen. du. is *hari*+*os* = *hary*+*os* (by No. 16) = *haryoḥ* (by Nos. 80-81).

For gen. plr. the position is *hari*+*ām* = *hari*+*nām* (by No. 126) = *harī*+*ṇām* (by Nos. 128 and 8.4.1-2) = *harīṇām*.

153. In this *sūtra*, *ṅaḥ*, and *aut* are got from the preceding *sūtras* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down two things: (1) *au* for *ṅi* and (2) *a* for *ghi* (i.e. the final vowel of *ghi*). The term *ghi*, as has been already explained above in No. 149, is applicable to *hari*. So loc. sg. of *hari* would

be: *hari+ṅi* = *hari+au* = *hara+au* (by this *sūtra*) = *harau* (No. 33). loc. du. = *hari os* = *hary os* = *haryoḥ;* and loc. plr. = *hari su* = *hariṣu* (No. 128). All masc. words ending in *i* (e.g. *kavi* etc.) are to be declined like *hari*.

154. Now our author turns to the word *sakhi* and notes its peculiarities. For nom. sg. the position is *sakhi+su*. Now by the present *sūtra,* the word *sakhi* takes the augment *anaṅ* (= *an*) before *s* of nom. sg. This augment being *ṅit* is only an *antyādeśa* (by No. 43). Hence we get *sakhan s.*

155. In this *sūtra* P defines *upadhā* as a letter immediately preceding the final letter. In the case under consideration (i.e. in *sakhan*) *n* is *antya;* and *a* before it is *upadhā*.

156. Now this *sūtra* tells us that the *upadhā* of a word ending in *n* is lengthened when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna* case-ending except the *sambuddhi* (i.e. voc. sg. ending). Accordingly we shall get *sakhān+s*.

157. Here P has given us the technical term *apṛkta*. It signifies a *pratyaya* comprising a single letter. In the case under consideration *s* is *ekāl* and hence has the designation *apṛkta*. Here we may note that the ending *su,* when divested of its *anubandha*, is *s*, is *ekāl;* and that *anubandha* is not to be taken into consideration when we want to see whether a *pratyaya* is *ekāl* or *enekāl*. Read: *nānubandhakṛtam anekāltvam, Pbh.* 6. This shows that *su* (of nom. sg.) is *ekāl* (and hence *apṛkta*).

158. This *sūtra* lays down that *su* (=*s* of nom. sg.), *ti* and *si* (3rd and 2nd sg. personal endings) when reduced to a single letter, coming after bases ending in a consonant or long *ī* (*ṅī*) or *ā* (*āp*), is dropped. In the present case we have *sakhān+s,* which by elision of *s* becomes *sakhān*.

159. Here it is to be noted that though a *pratyaya* is elided, its effect remains unaffected. Now in the present case the *su* (nom. sg. ending) is elided. But even then, the remaining portion, namely *sakhān*, can and does get the designation *pada* (Read: *suptiṅantaṁ padam, PA* 1.4.14).

160. As we have seen above, *sakhān* is a *pada*. It is also a *prātipadika;* for, it stands in the place of *sakhi* which is a *prātipadika* by No. 97. (For this see No. 123). Hence by the present rule the final *n* of *sakhān* is elided; and finally we get *sakhā* as nom. sg. of *sakhi*.

161. The words *sarvanāmasthāna* and *ṇit* (= *ṇidvat*) are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *sarvanāmasthāna* case-endings (except that of voc. sg.) coming after the word *sakhi* are to be considered *ṇit*.

162. In this rule P lays down that when followed by *ñit* or *ṇit pratyayas,* the final vowel of the base takes *vṛddhi*. In this *sūtra*, *acaḥ* stands for *ajantasya* (by *tadantavidhi*); the word *vṛddhiḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra;* and the *vṛddhi* is, of course, of the final *ik* (by No. 20 and *PA* 1.1.3, *iko guṇavṛddhī*). Thus *sakhi+au* = *sakhai+au* = *sakhāy+au* = *sakhāyau*. Similarly nom. plr. *sakhāyaḥ;* acc. sg., du. = *sakhāyam, sakhāyau;* acc. plr. *sakhīn* (exactly like *harīn*); instr. sg. would be *sakhi+ā* =*sakhyā* (No. 16); instr. du. and plr. *sakhibhyām, sakhibhiḥ;* and dat. sg. *sakhi+e* = *sakhye* (by No. 16); du. and plr. *sakhibhyām, sakhibhyaḥ.*
voc. sg. would be *sakhi+su* = *sakhe+s* (No. 148) = *sakhe* (No. 112).

163. Now for abl. (and gen.) sg. the position is *sakhi+ṅasi* (and *ṅas*). In the present *sūtra,* by *anuvṛtti* we get the words

ṅasiṅasoḥ and *ut*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that abl. and gen. sg. case-endings coming after *khy* and *ty* change their *a* to *u*. Thus *sakhi+as* = *sakhy+as* (No. 16) = *sakhy+us* (No. 163) = *sakhyuḥ* (Nos. 80-81). It has to be observed here that *u* becomes *rapara* only when it is a substitute for *ṛ*. Here it is a substitute for *a* and hence there is no *raparatva*. abl. du. and plr. are the same as dat. du. and plr.; gen. du. and plr. also are exactly like those of *hari,* and require no elucidation.

164. Now we come to loc. sg. where the position is *sakhi+ ṅi*. Now in the present *sūtra* *ṅeḥ* and *idudbhyām* are got by *anuvṛtti*. V, however, takes only *itaḥ* (instead of *idudbhyām*) and this by *tadantavidhi* means *idantāt*. Thus according to this *sūtra, ṅi* (loc. sg. case-ending) is changed to *au* when it comes after a word ending in *i*. Hence *sakhi+i* = *sakhi+au* = *sakhy+au* (by No. 16) = *sakhyau*. All the remaining forms are exactly like those of *hari*.

165. The *saṁjñā ghi* has been already explained above (No. 149). According to it the designation can apply to the word *pati* also. But P tells us that *pati* can have the designation *ghi* only when it stands (as a latter member) in a compound. This means that the word *pati* is to be declined like *hari* in all cases only when it is at the end of a compound. But as a simple word it has some peculiarities, like the word *sakhi* (which also is not *ghi*). Hence the instr., dat. abl. gen. and loc. sgg. are *patyā, patye, patyuḥ, patyuḥ,* and *patyau* respectively. All the other forms are like those of *hari;* and in a *samāsa* also they will be like those of *hari.* Hence dat. sg. of *bhūpati,* for example, is *bhūpataye* (and not *-patye*).

166. In this *sūtra* P lays down the designation *saṁkhyā* for the words *bahu* and *gaṇa,* and also words ending in the suffixes *vatu* (=*vat*) and *ḍati* (= *ati*). The *Kāśikā* tells us that the words *bahu* and *gaṇa,* when they mean *vaipulya* and *saṅgha,* are not subject to this *sūtra* and hence cannot have the designation *saṁkhyā.*

167. The words *saṁkhyā* and *ṣaṭ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti;* and by *tadantavidhi* or by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā, ḍati* means *ḍatyantā* (*saṁkhyā*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *saṁjñā ṣaṭ* for a formation in *ḍati.*

168. This *sūtra* lays down that the endings *jas* and *śas* are dropped when they come after words having the designation *ṣaṭ.*

Now a formation in *ḍati* (having the *saṁjñā ṣaṭ*), relevant here, is *kati* (formed acc. *PA* 5.2.41, *kimaḥ saṁkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca*). It is declined only in the plural. So for nom. and acc. plr. the position is *kati+as.* Now by this rule the ending is dropped and we have only *kati.* Now by rule 159, though the *pratyaya* here is dropped, its *kārya* must take place; and the *kārya* before *jas* is *guṇa* (No. 147). Under this position, our author points out the following rule.

169. In this *sūtra* P has laid down three *saṁjñās,* namely *luk, ślu* and *lup,* for the *adarśana* (or *lopa,* elision) of a *pratyaya* caused or enjoined by the words *luk, ślu* and *lup* respectively. Accordingly the elision of *as* after *kati,* being enjoined by the word *luk,* gets the designation *luk.*

170. In this *sūtra* is laid down an *apavāda* to the rule (No. 159) referred to above. When a *pratyaya* is elided

owing to a word containing the letter *lu*, the base that is left over will not undergo any *kārya* indicated by the *pratyaya* that is so elided. It is to be observed here that *lumatā* is instr. sg. of *lumat* which means a word containing *lu* therein; and further that such (i.e. *lumat*) words are three, namely *luk, ślu* and *lup*. Thus the rule finally is that an elided *pratyaya* generally causes its operations on the base to which it is applied (before being elided); but it will not do so, if this elision is caused by *luk, ślu* or *lup*. In the case under consideration *jas* and *śas* are elided by *luk* and hence no operations can take place on the base *kati*. Thus nom. and acc. forms are *kati, kati*. The forms of the other cases are regularly formed like those of *hari* and can be similarly explained.

After *kati*, V takes the word *tri* (of course, to be declined in plr. only). Forms of nom., acc., inst., and dat. are formed exactly like those of *hari*, and are to be similarly explained. For gen., the position is *tri+ām*.

171. The word *āmi* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra* (= *PA* 7.1.52). Thus *traya* (*anekāl* and hence *sarvādeśa*) is to be substituted for *tri* when the ending *ām* follows. So we get *tri+ām* = *traya+ām* = *traya+nām* (No. 126) = *trayā+nām* (No. 127) = *trayāṇām* (*PA* 8.4. 1-2). loc., of course, is like *hari*, *triṣu*.

172. Now V turns to *dvi*. P has laid down the substitute *a* for (the finals of) *tyad* and other pronouns upto and including *dvi* in the *sarvādigaṇa* when followed by *vibhakti*. Accordingly *dvi* is changed to *dva* and it is to be declined in dual only. The forms, therefore, will be *dvau* (nom., acc.), *dvābhyām* (instr., dat., abl.) and *dvayoḥ* (gen., loc.).

Now our author turns to declension of masc. words ending in *ī* (e.g. papī). The forms of this word are obtained simply by appending the case-endings and observing *saṁdhi* rules. The only form to be noted is acc. plr. where *papī+śas* = *papī+s* (No. 104) = *papī+n* (No. 115) = *papīn*. In gen. plr. *papī+ām,* No. 126 does not apply; and hence there is no *nuḍāgama*. Thus by No. 16, the form is *papyām*. loc. sg. *papī+i* = *papī* (No. 40). Similarly, are to be declined words like *vātapramī* (i.e. words ending in *ī*).

But *pradhī* differs; and V takes up a *sūtra* pertaining to it.

173. In this *sūtra, yvoḥ* is gen. du. of *yū* (= *i* and *u* short and long) and stands for *ivarṇovarṇāntasya* (*dhātoḥ*) by *tadantavidhi.* The substitutes *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ,* being *ṅit* are *antyādeśa* only and not for the whole *dhātu,* or the whole base ending in *i* or *u* (short or long).

—*bhruvām* is *sambandhasāmānye* or *avayavārthe ṣaṣṭī.* Thus the present *sūtra* lays down that the final *i* or *u* (short or long) belonging to *śnu* (sign of cl. 5), a root or the word *bhrū* is substituted by *iy* or *uv,* when followed by (a *pratyaya* beginning with) a vowel.

Now in *pradhī* we find *ī* at the end of a *dhātu,* so that when it is followed by a vowel termination it has to be substituted by *iy*. This, however, is not actually desirable; and is averted by the next *sūtra.*

174. In this *sūtra, eḥ* is gen. sg. of *i* and by *tadantavidhi* means *ivarṇāntasya* (*dhātoḥ*) which further stands for

ivarṇānto yo dhātuḥ tadantasya. Now the word *eḥ* (thus understood) and also the word *anekācaḥ* are adjectives; and their substantive is *aṅgasya* (got by *anuvṛtti*). The word *asaṁyogapūrvasya* is, however, an adjective of *eḥ* and means the vowel *i* not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of a *dhātu*. Thus the present *sūtra* lays down that a final *i* or *ī* (of such an *aṅga*) is changed to *y* when followed by a vowel termination. Let us take the word *pradhī* now. Nom. sg. would be *pradhīḥ*. Acc. sg. *pradhī+am* = *pradhyam*. Loc. sg. *pradhī+i* = *pradhyi*. In other cases this is to be declined like *papī* above. The word *grāmaṇī* is also similarly declined, except in loc. sg., for which the position is *grāmaṇī+i*.

175. This *sūtra* lays down that *ām* is substituted for *ṅi* (loc. sg. ending) after *nadī* words, words ending in *āp* (i.e. the fem. suffixes *cāp, ṭāp* and *ḍāp*), and words ending in the root-noun *nī*. Accordingly we shall have *grāmaṇī+ām* = *grāmaṇyām*. (No. 16 or 174).

176. In this *sūtra* P has laid down the designation *gati* for the *prādi* words, which are declared to have the designation *upasarga*, when they come in contact with *kriyā* (See *PA* 1.4.59); and the present *sūtra* lays down that they also have the designation *gati* (in addition to *upasarga*).

177. Now let us take the word *śuddhadhī*. In this word, the word *śuddha* is not a *gati*, obviously because it is not included in the *prādi gaṇa*. Nor is it a *kāraka;* for it is not connected with a *kriyā*. Now the *yaṇādeśa*, spoken of in No. 174 above, cannot be admitted in the case of a *pūrvapada*, if it is neither *gati* nor *kāraka*. This in other words means

that in such cases the rule to apply would be No. 173; and the *ādeśas* would be *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ*. Thus nom. du. of *śuddhadhī* will be *śuddhadhī+au* = *śuddhadiy+au* = *śuddhadhiyau*. In *pradhī*, and *grāmaṇī*, however, the *pūrvapada* is *gati* (*pra*) and *kāraka* (*grāma*) respectively; and hence *yaṇadeśa* could find scope there.

178. In this *sūtra*, *aci* (= *aci supi*) and *yaṇ* are got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. So this *sūtra* also prohibits *yaṇādeśa* (laid down by No. 174) in the case of the words *bhū* and *sudhī* (though they are covered by that rule). Hence nom. du. and plr. of *sudhī* would be *sudhiyau* and *sudhiyaḥ* respectively. Now V turns to two more words ending in *ī*. They are *sukhī* (*sukham icchati iti*) and *sutī* (*sutam icchati iti*). These words are to be declined like *pradhī*, because they come under No. 174 and have a *kāraka* for their *pūrvapada*. Thus naturally they will admit *yaṇādeśa* before case-endings beginning with a vowel. V, however, has drawn particular attention to two case endings, namely abl. sg. and gen. sg. (*as*). Now for *sukhī*, the position is *sukhī+as* = *sukhy+as* (by *yaṇādeśa*) = *sukhy +us* (by No. 163) = *sukhyuḥ*. Similarly from *sutī* we shall have *sutyuḥ*.

As for words ending in *u*, our author simply remarks that they are to be declined like *hari* and gives *śambhu, bhānu* etc. as illustrative words.

But he has noticed one masc. word ending in *u* as being rather irregular in some respects. This irregularity has been noticed by P in the following *sūtra*.

179. The words *asambuddhau* and *sarvanāmasthāne* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the word *kroṣṭu* is to be considered *tṛjvat* (as if it ended in the suffix *tṛ* i.e. = *kroṣṭṛ*) before *sarvamāmasthāna* endings, excepting voc. sg. This means that in all other cases, the word *kroṣṭu* is to be declined like *śambhu* or *bhānu* (i.e. ultimately like *hari*). But see also No. 183 below.

180. This brings us now to declension of words ending in *ṛ*. In that connection the present *sūtra* lays down that a base ending in *ṛ* takes *guṇa*, when followed by *ṅi* (loc. sg. ending) and *sarvanāmasthāna* endings. Here *ṛtaḥ* = *ṛdanta-sya* (*aṅgasya*) by *tadantavidhi*. By this rule, before *ṅi* etc. *kroṣṭu* should be changed to *kroṣṭṛ*, which is changed to *kroṣṭar*. This, however, is not the case in nom.sg., for which the position is *kroṣṭu+s*.

181. In this *sūtra* also *ṛt* by *tadantavidhi* stands for *ṛdanta* (*aṅga*). Furthermore, the whole of the preceding *sūtra*, namely *anaṅ sau*, is to be read here by *anuvṛtti*. Thus the *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa anaṅ* (=*an*, *ṅit* and hence *antyādeśa* only) for the final letter, (i.e. *ṛ* in the case of *kroṣṭṛ*). The word *asambuddhau* also is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Hence nom. sg. of *kroṣṭu* will be : *kroṣṭu+s* = *kroṣṭṛ+s* (by No. 179) =*kroṣṭan+s* (No. 181, No. 180 does not apply) = *kroṣṭā* (by Nos. 158 and 160 *s* and *n* being respectively elided).

182. This *sūtra* explains how the *a* of *kroṣṭan* above is lengthened. In this *sūtra* the words *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau*, *upadhāyāḥ* and *dīrghaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus

the *sūtra* means that the penultimate of *ap,* and of the words ending in *tṛn* or *tṛc,* and the words *svasṛ* etc. is lengthened before *sarvanāmasthāna* endings except that of voc. sg. This shows how *a* of *kroṣṭan* is lengthened to give the form *kroṣṭā* as shown above.

For nom. du. the position is *kroṣṭu+au* =*kroṣṭṛ+au* (No. 179) = *kroṣṭār+au* (No. 181-82) = *kroṣṭārau.* acc. du. also is the same. nom. plr. is *kroṣṭāraḥ* and is to be similarly explained. Similarly acc. sg. *kroṣṭāram.* In all other cases from acc. plr. onward *kroṣṭu* is to be declined like *bhānu.* Acc. plr. = *kroṣṭūn.*

183. The term *vibhāṣā* has been defined by **P** in the *sūtra, naveti vibhāṣā* (*PA* 1.1.44). The whole of No. 179 is to be read in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* and *aci* is to be understood to stand for *ajādau* (*pratyaye pare*) by the *paribhāṣā yasmin vidhis tadādāvalgrahaṇe* (*Pbh.* 33). Thus the *sūtra* lays down that before vowel case-endings from instr. sg. onward, the word *kroṣṭu* is optionally to be considered as *kroṣṭṛ*. Hence before these endings it will have two forms. Thus instr. sg. would be: *kroṣṭu+ā* =*kroṣṭṛ+ā* or *kroṣṭu+ā* (No. 183) = *krostrā* (No. 16) or *kroṣṭu+nā* (No. 150) =*kroṣṭunā*. Similarly dat. sg. would be *kroṣṭre* or *kroṣṭave.* There is no irregularity in instr. du., plr. and dat. du., plr.

184. For abl. (gen.) sg. the position is *kroṣṭu+ṅasi* (*ṅas*) = *kroṣṭu+as.* Now **P** lays down that the final *ṛ* of a base when followed by *at* (= *a* short) of abl. or gen. sg. ending, the *ekādeśa u* (of course, *rapara*) is substituted for them both. Accordingly we now get *kroṣṭṛ as* (by No. 183) = *kroṣṭur + s* (No. 184).

185. At this stage comes this *sūtra,* according to which when at the end of a word *s* stands after *r* to form a conjunct consonant, the *s* is elided. Accordingly in the present case we get *kroṣṭur;* and then *r* being changed to *visarga,* finally we have the form *kroṣṭuḥ*. It has to be observed that the *tṛjvadbhāva* is only optional and hence optionally abl. and gen. sg. forms would be *kroṣṭoḥ*. *kroṣṭroḥ* is gen. and loc. du. for which optionally we shall have *kroṣṭvoḥ*.

186. This is *vārttika* 11 on *PA* 7.1.96. It lays down that the augment *num* (laid down by P in several *sūtras*), the *ādeśa ra* (*PA* 7.2.100), and *tṛjvadbhāva* (*PA* 7.1.95 and 97) will be superceded by *nuṭ āgama* (*PA* 7.1.54) in spite of the general rule laid down by P regarding the supercession of a rule by another. This rule is *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam* (*PA*. 1.4.2), according to which only a *para sūtra* becomes *bādhaka* of a *pūrva sūtra*. In the present *vārttika,* however, all the three cases go against this rule; for, in each one of them, the *pūrva sūtra* is found to supercede the *para sūtra*. This is expressed in the word *pūrvavipratiṣedhena* (i.e. contrary to the general rule stated earlier, namely our No. 93). This *vārttika* is required for forming gen. plr. of *kroṣṭu,* for which the position is *kroṣṭu+ām*. Then by No. 183 we should have *tṛjvadbhāva,* of course, optionally. But it is prevented by the present *vārttika* and we get the augment *nuṭ* (which being *ṭit* is to be prefixed to *ām*). Hence we get *kroṣṭu+nām;* then by No. 127, *u* of *kroṣṭu* is lengthened; and finally we get *kroṣṭūnām*. loc. sg. would be *kroṣṭari* (with *tṛjvadbhāva* and *guṇa*) or *kroṣṭau* (when there is no *tṛjvadbhāva*). Thus we have seen all the forms where *kroṣṭu* has *tṛjvadbhāva* necessarily or optionally. In the alternative, in the absence of

tṛjvadbhāva and before consonantal endings the word is to be declined like *śambhu*.

Now we come to masc. words ending in *ū* long, such as *hūhū*. Here, to get the forms, we have only to observe *saṁdhi* rules and have *yaṇādeśa* before vowel (case-endings). Thus, nom. sg. and du. are *hūhūḥ* and *hūhvau* respectively.

187. This *sūtra* is to be explained exactly like No. 174 above. The only point of difference between the two being that No. 174 pertains to the vowel *i*, while this *sūtra* pertains to the vowel *u*. This *sūtra* finds scope when we come to the declension of the word *khalapū*, (nom. sg. *khalapūḥ*). For nom. du. the position is: *khalapū+au* = *khalapv+au* = *khalapvau*. Similarly nom. plr. is *khalapvaḥ*. Similarly are to be declined *sulū* and other similar words.

The word *svabhū* differs from *khalapū* in having the root noun *bhū* at the end. No. 177 prohibits *yaṇādeśa* in the case of the word *bhū* (or a word ending in *bhū*) and also the word *sudhī*. Hence here we have *uvaṅ ādeśa;* and thus nom. du. of *svabhū* is *svabhuvau*. It may be observed that *svabhū* will have *uvaṅ ādeśa* before all vowel case-endings.

188. The word *varṣābhū*, however, is an exception to No. 187; and hence will take *yaṇādeśa* before vowel case-endings. This has been laid down by P in this *sūtra*, which is a sort of continuation of No. 186 and lays down *yaṇādeśa* for *varṣābhū* in spite of No. 187. Hence nom. du. of *varṣābhū* is *varṣābhvau*. Similarly there will be *yaṇādeśa* before all vowel case-endings.

189. Now coming to masc. words ending in *ṛ*, our author takes up the word *dhātṛ*. Declension of words ending in *ṛ* has practically been done while studying the declension of

the word *kroṣṭu* (changed to *kroṣṭṛ*). Only one form has to be noted; and that is gen. plr. for which the position is: *dhātṛ+ām*. Now by No. 126 the ending will have *āgama nuṭ* and thus we shall have *dhātṛ+nām* = *dhatṝ+nām* (by No. 127).

Now *PA* 8.4.1 lays down that *n* is changed to *ṇ* when it comes after *r* and *ṣ* in one and the same *pada*. But P has not mentioned *ṛ* there along with *r* and *ṣ*. In fact, however, this cerebralisation of *n* takes place after *ṛ* also. This lacuna in P's rule is made good by K in this *vārttika,* laying down that cerebralisation of *n* must be declared to take place after the vowel *ṛ* (in addition to *r* and *ṣ*). By this *vārttika* then, *dhātṝ+nām* = *dhātṝṇām*. The words *naptṛ* etc. are to be similarly declined. In this connection it has to be noted that *naptṛ* and some other words have been declared by a *nipātana sūtra* in *Uṇ* 252 as formations in *tṛn* or *tṛc*. P. himself, however, would seem to favour the view that these words are underivable (cf. *uṇādayo'vyutpannāni prātipadikāni, Pbh* 22). Now if these words are *avyutpanna,* then they will abide by No. 180 and will undergo only *guṇa*. But actually in addition to *guṇa* they are found to take the *āgama anaṅ:* and hence we have forms like *naptārau, naptāraḥ,* etc. If they are taken as formations in *tṛn* or *tṛc,* then they will follow No. 181 and will take the suffix *anaṅ*. But the special mention of *naptṛ* etc. in No. 182 is meant to indicate that if these and such other words are considered as *tṛc* and *tṛn* formations, then only these eight words mentioned in No. 182 will take *anaṅ,* but not the others. If, on the other hand, they are taken to be underivable, then to save them

from No. 180, their special mention is, of course, necessary. This is what V means when he says : *naptrādigrahaṇaṁ vyutpattipakṣe niyamārtham*. Naturally, therefore, *anaṅ* will not be taken by other words like *pitṛ* which will undergo only *guṇa* and give the forms *pitā, pitarau, pitaraḥ* etc. All the other forms are like those of *dhātṛ*. All other words such as *jāmātṛ* are declined like *pitṛ*.

190. The word *nṛ* also is like *pitṛ* but for gen. plr. In this *sūtra* we get by *anuvṛtti* the words *nāmi* and *ubhayathā*. It lays down that *nṛ* will be short or long before *nām* (gen. plr.). Hence we get *nṛṇām, nṝṇām*.

191. The word *sarvanāmasthāna* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. Thus the *sūtra* lays down that the *sarvanāmasthāna* endings coming after the base *go* (or the base ending in *o*, as V puts it) are to be considered *ṇit*. This means that before them the base will undergo *vṛddhi* (by *PA* 7.2.115). Hence *go* will be changed to *gau*. Accordingly the nom. forms would be *gauḥ, gāvau, gāvaḥ*.

192. This *sūtra* comes under the *adhikāra*, *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*, *PA* 6.1.83. Secondly, *autaḥ* = *ā otaḥ*. Now *ā* is the *ekādeśa* laid down by this *sūtra* for both, *o* (the *pūrva*) and the following *a* belonging to *am* and *śas* (i.e. acc. sg. and plr. endings). Thus *go+am* (or *as*) = *gau+am* (or *as*) (No. 191) = *gā+m* (or *s*) (No. 192) = *gām* (or *gāḥ*).

Before endings from instr. sg. onwards there is nothing particular to be noted. Thus *go+ā* = *gav+ā* (No. 22) = *gavā*. Similarly *gave* (dat. sg.); abl. and gen. sg. would be *go+as* (abl. and gen. sg. ending) = *go s* (No. 152) = *goḥ* (Nos. 80, 81).

193. Now V takes up *rai* as an illustration for the declension of masc. words ending in *ai*. P lays down that *rai* changes its final vowel to *ā* when followed by consonantal case-endings. The words *ā* and *vibhaktau* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. Thus *rai+s* (nom. sg. ending) = *rā+s* = *rāḥ* (by Nos. 80, 81). Similarly *rai+bhyām* (*bhih* or *bhyaḥ*) = *rābhyaṁ* (*rābhiḥ*, *rābhyaḥ*). Before vowel endings, however, it will take *āyādeśa* (No. 22); and hence *rai au* (nom. acc. du.) = *rāy+au* = *rāyau*. Words ending in *au* present no peculiarity. Thus *glau+s* = *glauḥ* (nom. sg.); *glau+au* = *glāv au* (No. 22) = *glāvau;* etc. and *glau+bhyām* = *glaubhyām;* etc.

194. The words *prātipadikāt* and *striyām* are got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* from the preceding *sūtras* (namely *PA* 4.1.1 and 4.1.3). So also by *tadantavidhi, ataḥ* means *adantāt* (*prātipadikāt*). For *ajādi* (*gaṇa*) see *GRM* 1.38-41 where about 25 words are given as belonging to it with the remark *ākṛtigaṇo'yam*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the fem. suffix *ā* to be appended to words in the *ajādigaṇa* and to words ending in *a*. Here it may be noted that in *ṭāp*, *ṭ* and *p* are mute. The latter is *sāmānyagrahaṇārtha* while the former is *sāmānyagrahaṇāvighātārtha*.

195. Having thus shown how a *prātipadika* ending in *ā* is formed, V now proceeds to deal with the declension. For nom. sg. the position is *ajā+s* = *ajā* (*s* being elided by No. 158). Now for nom. and acc. du. the position is: *ajā+au*. With reference to this case-ending P lays down that after *āp* (i.e. an *ābanta* base, by *tadantavidhi* or *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*), the ending *auṅ* (= *au* of nom. and acc. du.) is substituted by शी (= ई). It may be observed here that P has used

several terms used by his predecessors; but in doing so he has not made the mute letters therein to serve their usual purposes. Thus, for example, here he has used the term *auṅ* (with mute *ṅ*); but this mute *ṅ* is not taken into account (or rather left out of consideration) while applying the rule *yāḍāpaḥ* (No. 198 below). Pat. has made this point clear when he remarks: *athavā pūrvasūtranirdeśo'yam/ pūrvasūtreṣu ca ye'nubandhā na tair ihetkāryāṇi kriyante/ MBh.* on *PA* 7.1.18. Thus nom. (acc.) du. will be *ajā+au = ajā+ī = aje* (by No. 27). nom. plr. (acc. plr. also) will be: *ajā+as = ajāḥ* (by No. 40, 80 and 81).

196. Now for voc. sg. (*saṁbuddhi*) the position is: *ajā+s*. Here comes the present *sūtra* wherein the words *āpaḥ = ābantasya aṅgasya,* by *tadantavidhi* and by *adhikāra* respectively and *et =e* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtras*. This *ādeśa e* is only *ekāl* and is as such *antyādeśa;* and hence *ajā+s = aje s = aje* (by No. 112). The other forms are *ajāḥ* (nom. plr.), *aje* (acc. du.), *ajāḥ* (acc. plr.); *ajām* (acc. sg.).

197. Here is one more case where P has used a term as used by the *pūrvācāryas,* without, however, allowing the mute letter therein to serve its usual purpose. (see notes on No. 195 above). In this *sūtra, asi* can be got by the force of *ca*. By *āṅ* we have to understand instr. sg. ending (i.e. *ṭā* of *P*). cf. *āṅ iti pūrvācāryanirdeśena tṛtīyaikavavcanaṁ gṛhyate, Kā* on *PA* 7.3.105. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that before *ā* (instr. sg. ending) and *os* (gen. and loc. du. endings) the final *ā* of *ābanta* bases is changed to *e*. Thus instr. sg. is *ajā+ā = aje+ā = ajay+ā* (by *ayādeśa*) *= ajayā* Instr. du. and plr. are *ajābhyām* and *ajābhiḥ*.

198. Now for dat. sg. the position is *ajā*+*ṅe* (i.e. *e*). Here the mute *ṅ* is designed by P himself and not taken by him from his predecessors. Hence it has its purpose to serve. And this purpose is stated by P in this *sūtra*. The word *ṅitaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*, while *aṅgāt* is got by *adhikāra*. The word *āpaḥ* by *tadantavidhi* means *ābantād* (*aṅgāt*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that all *ṅit* case-endings coming after *ābanta* bases will take the augment *yāṭ*. Now this being *ṭit*, will be prefixed to the case-ending. Thus *ajā*+*e* = *ajā*+*yāe* = *ajā*+*yai* (No. 33) = *ajāyai*. The *ṅit* endings are dat., abl, gen. and loc. sgg., which all will take *yāṭ* and the forms will be *ajāyai, ajāyāḥ, ajāyāḥ,* and *ajāyām* (*ṅi* being substituted by *ām* by No. 175). In gen. and loc. du. No. 176 will apply; and *ajā* will be changed to *aje* which with the following *os* (gen. loc. du. endings) after *ayādeśa* will give us the form *ajayoḥ*.

All fem. words ending in *ā* (such as *durgā*) are to be similarly declined.

199. V now turns to fem. pronouns such as *sarvā* (*sarva*+*āp*) and takes up the rule where P lays down that *ṅit* case endings, coming after *ābanta* pronouns, will take the *āgama syāṭ* (=*syā*) and will shorten their vowel. In this *sūtra* also we have to get the relevant words as in No. 198. Thus dat. sg. of *sarvā* would be: *sarvā*+*e* = *sarvā syā*+*e* = *sarva*+*syai* = *sarvasyai*. Similarly we shall have *sarvasyāḥ* (abl. and gen. sg.); and *sarvasyām* (loc. sg., *ṅi* being substituted by *ām* by No. 175). In gen. plr. the ending *ām* will take the augment *suṭ* (=*s*) by No. 133 and the form will be *sarvāsām*. But for these forms, *sarvā* is to be declined

like *ajā* only; and similarly are to be declined all fem. pronouns (ending in *ā*) such as *viśvā*.

200. In this *sūtra,* the word *sambuddhau* is got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra;* and the word *aṅgānām* by *adhikāra*. Furthermore it has to be observed that *nadī* here is to be understood as explained in *PA* 1.4.3; and *ambārtha* signifies words having the sense of *ambā* (i.e. *ambā* and its synonyms). According to this *sūtra,* these words shorten their final vowel before voc. sg. ending. Thus voc. sg. of *ambā, akkā* and *allā* is *amba, akka* and *alla* respectively.

Turning to the word *jarā,* V implicitly refers to No. 140 enjoining the substitution (optional) of *jaras* (for *jarā*) before vowel case-endings; and gives *jarasau* and *jarasaḥ* as only two illustrations. This word alternatively is to be declined, of course, like *ajā* before vowel case-endings, and necessarily, like it before consonantal case-endings. Then our author takes the word *gopā* (*ābanta* fem.) and remarks that it is to be declined like *viśvapā*. In this connection we may note that words like *gopā, viśvapā,* etc. (i.e. words ending in *ā*, masc. or fem.) show no difference in declension according to their gender. (They are declined alike in both the genders. The masc. forms *gopā* and *viśvapā* are not *ābanta*).

This now brings us to declension of fem. words ending in *i* (short) and V takes the word *mati* for illustration. The first five paradigms of the word *mati* are: *matiḥ*, *matī* (by No. 104), *matayaḥ* (by No. 147), *matim* (by No. 104), *matī*. acc. plr. would be *mati as* = *matīḥ* (No. 104,

80 and 81). instr. sg. *mati*+*ā* = *matyā* (No. 16); *mati-bhām*, *matibhiḥ*.

201. **For dat. sg. the position is *mati*+*ṅe* (=*e*). Here** comes the present *sūtra*. In this *sūtra* we get the words *yū-stryākhyau nadī* and *iyaṅuvaṅsthānāvastrī* from the preceding *sūtras*. **This *sūtra* thus lays down the designation *nadī*** optionally before *ṅit* case-endings in the cases of (i) fem. bases ending in *i* or *u* short, and (ii) fem. words ending *ī* or *ū* long liable to the *ādeśas iyaṅ* or *uvaṅ* except the word *strī*.

202. When thus the designation *nadī* becomes applicable to the word *mati*, the present *sūtra* finds scope. In this *sūtra* the words *ṅiti* and *aṅgāt* come by *anuvṛtti* and *adhikāra* respectively; and by *tadantavidhi*, *nadyāḥ* means *nadyantāt* (*aṅgāt*). Thus by this *sūtra*, the *āgama āṭ* (=*ā*) is to be prefixed to all *ṅit* case-endings. Hence now we have *mati*+*āe*.

203. At this stage the present *sūtra* lays down that *vṛddhi* will be the *ekādeśa* for both, when *ā* (*āṭ*) is followed by a vowel. Hence *mati*+*āe* = *maty*+*ai* = *matyai*. Similarly abl. sg. would be *mati*+*ṅasi* = *mati*+*ā as* = *maty ās* = *matyāḥ*. When, however, the word *mati* is *ghi*, its dat. and abl. sgg. would be like *hari* (i.e. *mataye* and *mateḥ* respectively).

204. By *tadantavidhi idudbhyām* means *idantodantābhyām*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *ṅi* (loc. sg. case ending) appended to *nadīsaṁjñaka* words is substituted by *ām*. Thus *mati*+*ṅi* = *mati*+*ā i* (by No. 202) = *mati*+*ā ām* (No. 204) = *maty ām* (No. 203) = matyām. When,

however, *mati* is not *nadī* (i.e. when it is *ghi*) loc. sg. will be *matau* (like *harau*).

All the remaining paradigms are like those of *hari*. Similarly are to be declined all fem. words ending in *i* (short), such as *buddhi*.

205. Now our author turns to *tri* and *catur* (fem.). In this *sūtra* P his laid down *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* as substitutes for *tri* and *catur* in the fem. respectively, when followed by *vibhakti* (the word *vibhaktau* being obtained by *anuvṛtti* from *PA* 7.2.84). These words are always plural. Thus for nom. the position is: *tisṛ*+*as*.

206. The word *tisṛcatasroḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* lays down that *ṛ* (of *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*) is changed to *r* when followed by a vowel. Ordinarily this could be accomplished by *yaṇādeśa* (No. 16). But this *sūtra* has been specially laid down for preventing *guṇa* (No. 180), *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* (No. 105), and *ekādeśa u* (No. 184). Hence we get *tisraḥ* (nom. and also acc.). Similarly *catasraḥ*.

The instr. dat. and abl. forms are: *tisṛbhiḥ*, *tisṛbhyaḥ* (*catasṛbhiḥ*, *catasṛbhyaḥ*).

207. For gen. the position is *tisṛ*+*ām*. Then by No. 186 we have *tisṛ*+*n ām* = *tisṛ*+*nām*. Now the present *sūtra* lays down that *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* do not lengthen their final vowel. Hence finally we have *tisṛṇām*, *catasṛṇām* (*n*=*ṇ* by No. 189).

The word *dvi* is substituted by *dva* (by No. 172) which by the fem. suffix *ṭāp* (No. 194) = *dvā*. This is to be declined

in du. exactly like *śālā*. Thus we get *dve*, *dvābhyām* and *dvayoḥ*.

208. Now we come to feminine bases ending in *ī*. These bases are formed according to this *sūtra* which lays down that the fem. suffix *ṅīṣ* (got by *anuvṛtti*) is appended to the words *gaura* etc. (for *gaurādi gaṇa* see *GRM* 1.44-51) and to words formed by appending suffixes having mute *ṣ*. Thus now the position is *gaura*+*ī*.

209. By this *sūtra* the final *a* or *i* of a base having the designation *bha* is elided when followed by a *taddhita* suffix or the vowel *ī*. The words in this *sūtra* are *yasya īti ca*. The word *yasya* is gen. sg. of *ya* (which is a *samāhāra* of *i*+*a*) and means 'of the vowels *i* and *a*'. The word *bhasya* is got here by *adhikāra* (PA 6.4.129) and *lopaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. In the case under consideration *gaura* is *bha* (by *PA* 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) ending in *a* and it is followed by *ī*. Hence the *a* of the base is dropped and thus we get *gaurī*. Now by No. 99, case-endings can be appended to *gaurī* (which is a *ṅyanta prātipadika*). Thus for nom. sg. the position is: *gaurī*+*s*. Here by No. 158, the *s* is elided and we get *gaurī*. For nom. du. the position is: *gaurī*+*au* = *gauryau* by *yaṇādeśa* (No. 16), because by No. 141 the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, possible by No. 104, is prohibited. Similarly nom. plr. would be *gaurī*+*as* = *gauryaḥ*

210. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *nadī* for fem. words ending in *ī* and *ū*. By *tadantavidhi yū* (i.e. *ī and ū*) = *īdanta* and *ūdanta* words. Thus *gaurī* has the designation *nadī*. Hence Nos. 200 (for voc. sg.), No. 202 (for *ṅit* endings), No. 126 (gen. plr.) and No. 175 (for loc. sg.)

will give us the forms: *gauri, gauryai* etc., *gaurīṇām,* and *gauryām* respectively. In *gaurīm* and *gaurīḥ,* we have *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* by No. 104. In other paradigms there is nothing particularly to be noted. The words *nadī* etc. (i.e. all fem. words ending in ī long) are to be declined like *gaurī*.

Taking up the word *strī,* V gives nom. sg. and voc. sg., namely *strī* and *he stri* respectively; and then takes up the *sūtra* which is required for nom. du. etc. (the vowel case-endings).

211. For nom. and acc. du. the position is *strī+au*. Here No. 173 laying down the substitute *iy* cannot apply, because the ī here does not belong to a *dhātu*. Hence P has laid down this *ādeśa* for *strī* in this *sūtra.* Accordingly the ī of *strī* is changed to *iy* before vowel case-endings. Thus we have *striyau*. So also nom. and acc. plr. *striyaḥ*.

212. In this *sūtra,* the *iyaṅ ādeśa* enjoined in the previous rule is declared to be optional before *am* and *śas* (acc. sg. and plr. endings respectively). Thus acc. sg. and plr. forms would be *striyam* (or *strīm*), *striyaḥ* (or *strīḥ*). Before consonantal case-endings *strī* is to be declined exactly like *gaurī*. Hence we get *strīṇām, strīṣu.* (gen. and loc. plr.); while instr., dat., abl. and *gen.* sgg. are *striyā, striyai, striyāḥ,* (loc. sg. *striyām*).

In the case of the word *śrī,* the *s* (nom. sg. ending) is not dropped because *śrī* is not a *ṅyanta* formation; while before *au* and *as* (nom. du. and plr.) it will have *iyaṅādeśa*. Thus the forms of nom. are *śrīḥ, śriyau, śriyaḥ*.

213. In voc. sg. the word *śrī* will not shorten its vowel because it cannot have the designation *nadī,* as shown by this

sūtra. Words ending in *ī* and *ū*, which are substituted by *iy* and *uv*, excepting the word *strī*, shall not have the designation *nadī*. The word *śrī*, therefore cannot be *nadī*, and hence No. 200 cannot apply to it. Hence voc. sg. would be *he śrīḥ*.

Before *ṅit endings* (namely *ṅe, ṅasi, ṅas,* and *ṅi*) the word *śrī* has the designation *nadī* optionally; and hence will have two forms (like *mati*), namely *śriyai, śriye; śriyāḥ, śriyaḥ;* and *śriyām* (*ām* substituted for *ṅi* by No. 175), *śriyi*.

214. The word *śrī* has the designation *nadī* optionally before *ām* (gen. plr. ending) (*iyaṅuvaṅsthānau* and *astrī* are got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*). Thus *śrī*+*ām* = *śrī*+*n ām* (by No. 126) = *śrīṇām* (by *PA* 8.4.1-2), or *śriyām* (by *iyaṅ ādeśa*). The word *dhenu* is to be declined like *mati*.

215. The words *tṛjvat kroṣṭuḥ* are got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* and thus this *sūtra* lays down that the word *kroṣṭu* will be *tṛjvat* (i.e. *kroṣṭṛ*) before the fem. suffix.

216. This *sūtra* declares that words ending in *ṛ* and *n* have the suffix *ṅīp* appended to them. Thus *kroṣṭṛ* will take the suffix *ṇīp* and thus the fem. form would be *kroṣṭrī*. This is to be declined like *gaurī*. Fem. words ending in *ū* (long) like *svayambhū* are to be declined like masc. words ending in *ū*.

217. In this *sūtra* P lays down that the fem. suffix *ṅīp* or *ṭāp*, (laid down by 214 and 194) will not be appended to *ṣaṣ* and to the words of the *svasrādigaṇa*. P. has declared that numerals ending in *ṣ* and *n* are designated *ṣaṣ* (*PA* 1.1.24). For *svasrādigāṇa* see *GRM* 1.42. In a couplet these words are said to be seven in all. These words will not have any fem. suffix append-

ed to them. They are, therefore, to be declined like *dhātṛ* (masc.) with the only exception of acc. plr., in which the *nuḍāgam* will not take place. Thus the forms of *svasṛ* are *svasā, svasārau* etc. *svasṝḥ* (acc. plr.). The word *mātṛ* is to be declined like *pitṛ* (*mātā, mātarau,* etc.); *mātṝḥ* (acc. plr.). The word *dyo* is to be declined like *go*. The word *rai* (fem.) is to be declined like *rai* (masc.). The word *nau* is to be declined like *glau*.

218. By *tadantavidhi ataḥ* means *adantāt* (*aṅgāt*, which is got by *adhikāra, aṅgasya, PA* 6.4.1). The words *svamor napuṁsakāt* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that after a neuter base (*aṅga*) ending in *a, s* and *am* (nom. and acc. sg. endings) are substituted by *am*. Thus *jñāna+s* (or *am*) = *jñāna+am* = *jñānam* (by No. 113). Voc. sg. is *he jñāna*. (The case-ending *am* being dropped by No. 112).

219. The words *auṅaḥ* and *śī* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that after a neuter base (*aṅga*) ending in *a*, the ending *au* is substituted by *śī* (=*ī*). It must be observed here that *auṅ* is used here to represent *au* (nom. and acc. du.) and is a *pūrvācāryasaṁjñā* (like *āṅ* for *ṭā*, instr. sg. ending). Thus for nom. and acc. du. the position is *jñāna+ī*.

220. Now according to this *sūtra* a base (*bha*) drops its final *a* when followed by *ī*. Accordingly here the elision of the final *a* of *jñāna* becomes due.

221. But this is prevented by this *vārttika* which notes that the elision of the final *a* of a base (by No. 220) is prohibited

before *śī* (=*ī*) substituted for *auṅ* (=*au*). Hence *jñāna* +*ī* = *jñāne* (by No. 27).

222. This *sūtra* lays down the substitute *śi* for *jas* and *śas* (+*as* of nom. and acc. plr.), of course, after a base (*aṅga*) of the neuter gender (*napuṁsakāt* got by *anuvṛtti* and *aṅgāt* by *adhikāra*). Thus the position is *jñāna*+*i*.

223. In this *sūtra* P has laid down the designation *sarvanāmasthāna* for *śi* (the substitute for *jas* and *śas* in No. 222). Also see No. 142 above, where this designation is given to other case-endings also.

224. The word *jhalacaḥ* in this *sūtra* means *jhalantasya ajantasya ca* (by *tadantavidhi*). The word *aṅgasya* is got by *adhikāra,* while *num* and *sarvanāmasthāna* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the augment *num* will be appended to a neuter base (*aṅga*) ending in a vowel or a *jhal,* when followed by a *sarvanāmasthāna* ending.

225. This *sūtra* lays down that a *mit āgama* is to be infixed after the last vowel in the base for which it is enjoined. Thus here *n* is to be placed after *a,* and hence the position is: *jñānan*+*i*. At this stage by No. 156 the penultimate *a* of *jñānan* is lengthened, and thus we get *jñānāni*. The forms of acc. sg., du., and plr. are the same as those of nom; and the forms of the remaining cases are like those of a mesculine word ending in *a*. All neuter words ending in *a,* such as *dhana,* are to be similarly declined.

226. The mention of *hrasva* (*ādeśa*) in this *sūtra* implies the existence of the word *acaḥ* in it (by *PA* 1.2.28, *acaśca*); and this by *tadantavidhi* means *ajantasya*

(*prātipadikasya*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a *prātipadika* ending in a vowel shortens its final vowel when followed by neut. case-endings. Thus the word *śrīpā*, when followed by *am* (substituted for *su* by No. 218), will become *śrīpa* and by No. 113 we shall have *śrīpam*. The word is to be declined like *jñāna* (i.e. as if it ended in *a*).

227. In this *sūtra aṅgāt* is got by *adhikāra* and *luk* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that after a neut. base (*aṅga*) the endings *su* and *am* are elided. This, of course, holds good in the case of all neut. *aṅgas* except those ending in *a* which are subject to No. 218 above. Thus the nom. and acc. sg. of *vāri* is *vāri*.

228. In this *sūtra ikaḥ* (= *igantasya* by *tadantavidhi*) qualifies *aṅgasya* (which got by *adhikāra*); while *napuṁsakasya* and *num* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a neut. base (*aṅga*), ending in *ik* (=*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*), takes the augment *num* when followed by case endings beginning with a *vowel*. Hence *vāri*+*au* = *vāri*+*ī* (by No. 219) = *vārin* +*ī* (No. 225) = *vāriṇī* (*n* = *ṇ* by *PA* 8.4.1-2). Similarly nom. plr. *varīṇi* can be explained.

In voc. sg. the case-ending is dropped by No. 227 and we get *he vāri*. Furthermore even after this elision, the final vowel of the *aṅga* may take *guṇa*, by the *paribhāṣā pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, acc. to No. 148 above. Thus we get *he vāre*. Here it may be argued that the *lopa* here is enjoined by the word *luk*. Now we have already seen (No.170) that in a case where elision is caused by a term having *lu* therein, the *pratyayalakṣaṇaparibhāṣā* can have no scope. Hence the application of No. 148 to *vāri* on the

basis of that *paribhāṣā* is not correct. This objection is refuted here by pointing out that No. 170 (*na lumatāṅgasya*) is *anitya* and hence the above mentioned *pbh.* can find scope, when No. 170 is not applied. So voc. sg. is *he vāre*, or *he vāri*.

229. Now for dat. sg. the position is: *vāri+ṅe*. Here ordinarily would apply the *sūtra, gher ṅiti* (No. 151); for *vāri* is *ghi* (No. 149) and *ṅe* is *ṅit*. Thus the final vowel of *vāri* should undergo *guṇa*. Rule No. 228, laying down *num* for *iganta* neuter bases (*aṅgas*) before vowel case-endings, may also be found applicable. But between the two the former is *para* while the latter is *pūrva* according to the order of *PA*. Hence by *PA* 1.4.2, *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam*, the former has to be applied in preference to the latter. Hence *guṇa* of the final vowel of *vāri* should occur in this case. But this is prevented by the present *vārttika* which lays down that in preference to *vṛddhi, autva, tṛjvadbhāva*, and *guṇa* (which are laid down by comparatively *para-sūtra*) the augment *num* (laid down by a comparatively *pūrvasūtra*) should be infixed on the strength of *pūrvavipratiṣedha*. Hence after *numāgama* we get *vāriṇe*. Similarly are to be explained the forms *vāriṇaḥ* (abl. and gen. sg.), *vāriṇoḥ* (gen. and loc. du) and *vāriṇi* (loc. sg.). For another instance of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* see No. 186 above, which is to be applied while forming the gen. plr. of *vāri* (namely *vārīṇām*). In this case the *āgama* is (not *num* but) *nuṭ*. Hence the position after augmentation is *vāri+nām*, which gives scope for the application of No. 127 (*nāmi*) to lengthen the final vowel of *vāri*.

Before consonantal endings the word *vāri* is to be declined like *hari*.

230. This *sūtra* deals with the words *asthi* etc. which form their nom. and acc. forms exactly like *vāri*. The words *tṛtīyādiṣu aci* and *napuṁsakānām* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that these words take the *ādeśa anaṅ* (= *an, antādeśa* by No. 43) when followed by *ṭā* (instr. sg.) and the subsequent case-endings; and further lays down that this *an* is *udātta*. Hence for instr. sg. the position is: *dadhi*+*ā* = *dadhan*+*ā*.

231. Here applies this *sūtra* which lays down the elision of the *a* of *an* under certain circumstances. In this *sūtra* the words *aṅgasya* and *bhasya* are got by *adhikāra*. Thus the *sūtra* lays down that *an* of an *aṅga*, which is also *bha* (for *bha* see *PA* 1.4-18) drops its *a*. This is more clearly explained by stating that the *a* of *an* of an *aṅga* is elided when it is followed by case-endings beginning with *y* or with a vowel, excepting those that are technically named *sarvanāmasthāna*. In the case under consideration these conditions are satisfied; and hence *an* (of *asthan*) will be elided and thus we shall have the form *dadhan*+*ā* = *dadhnā*. The forms *dadhne, dadhnaḥ* can now be similarly explained.

232. This *sūtra* lays down the elision of *a* of *an* optionally under the same circumstances as above, when followed by *ṅi* (=*i* of loc. sg.) and *śī* (*ī* substituted for *auṅ* = *au* of nom. and acc. du.).

In the case of the words *asthi* etc. the *an* (ending) of the base (*aṅga*) is possible only after acc. plr. and hence the

present *sūtra* can find scope only when *ṅi* (loc. sg. ending) is appended. Thus *dadhi+i* = *dadhan+i* (No. 230) = *dadhni* or *dadhani*. All the remaining forms of *dadhi* are to be formed like those of *vāri*. The words *asthi*, *sakthi* and *akṣi* are to be declined like *dadhi*.

Words ending in *ī* (such as *sudhī*) will shorten their final vowel by No. 226; and then will be declined exactly like *vāri*. Hence the forms: *sudhi, sudhinī, sudhīni; he sudhe, he sudhi;* instr. sg. is *sudhinā* (or *sudhiyā*). But V appears to have avoided this nicety by giving only *sudhinā*.

Neuter words ending in *u* also are to be declined on the analogy of *vāri* with the same rules and operations and are to be simiarly explained. Thus the forms of the word *madhu* are: *madhu, madhunī, madhūni; he madho, he madhu;* etc. All neut. words ending in *u* such as *ambu* are to be declined like *madhu*.

Words ending in *ū* (such as *sulū*) will shorten their final vowel by No. 226 and then be declined like *madhu*. Thus the forms of *sulū* (neut.) would be: *sulu, sulunī, sulūni; sulunā*. Here also V has avoided giving the optional forms which these words can have before vowel case-endings from instr. sg. onwards.

Neuter words ending in *ṛ* (such as *dhātṛ*) also are to be declined on the same lines by applying the rules No. 219 (substitution of *śī* for *auṅ*), No. 228 (*num āgama*), No. 156 (*dīrghatva*), No. 222 (substitution of *śi* for *jas* and *śas*). Similarly in voc. sg. take place elision of *su* (No. 112) and *guṇa* (No. 148). The forms of *dhātṛ* are: *dhātṛ, dhātṛṇī, dhātṝṇi; he dhataḥ, he dhātṛ; dhātṛṇā*. In this case also

V has avoided giving the optional forms which these words can have before vowel terminations from instr. sg. onwards. Similarly are to be declined all neut. words ending in *ṛ* (such as *jñātṛ*).

233. Now we come to neut. words ending in *o* (such as *pradyo*). By No. 226, *pradyo* has to shorten its final vowel. In the present *sūtra* P lays down that the *hrasva* of *ec* (i.e. *e, o, ai* and *au*) will be *ik* (i.e. *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ* respectively). Hence by shortening, the word *pradyo* will become *pradyu;* and then it will be declined like *madhu*. *pradyu, pradyunī, pradyūni; pradyunā,* etc.

Neuter words ending in *ai* (such as *prarai*) will also shorten their final vowel (No.226) to *i* (No. 233). Thus *prarai* would become *prari* and then we shall have the forms *prari, prariṇī, prarīṇi; prariṇā;* etc. In the case of *prarai* (=*prari*) we have to remember the rule *rāyo hali* (No. 193) which can apply here also, because *ri* is only an *ekadeśavikṛta* of *rai;* and hence must be considered to be *ananya* with it. For, the *pbh.* is *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat*. The rule being thus applicable to *prari,* it will be changed to *prarā* before consonantal case endings (namely *bhyām, bhiḥ, bhyaḥ* and *su*). Thus we have *prarābhyām* etc. The gen. plr. is *prarīṇām.*

Neuter words ending in *au* (such as *sunau*) will shorten their final vowel (No. 226) to *u* (No. 233); and thus *sunau* would become *sunu,* which then is to be declined like *madhu*. The forms of *sunau* (neut.) are: *sunu, sununī, sunūni; sununā,* etc.

234. The word *haḥ* is gen. sg. (*sthāneyogā*) of *h*. The word *padasya* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra;* and the words *jhali* and *ante* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Now this *sūtra* lays down that *h*, standing at the end of a *pada* or when followed by *jhal*, is changed to *ḍh*. Now we turn to the word *lih* (a *kvip*, formation from √*lih*). This word being a *kṛdanta* is a *prātipadika* (by No. 97); and hence *sup* endings can be appended to it (by No. 99). Then by No. 158 the *s* (nom. sg.) is elided; and we have *lih*+*s* = *lih*. Now this *lih* is a *pada* (by *PA* 1.4.14). Hence by the present *sūtra h* is changed to *ḍh*, which by *PA* 8.4.56, *vāvasāne*, is substituted optionally by *ṭ* (*cartva*) and we have *liṭ*. On the other hand when *cartva* is not made, *ḍh* is changed to *ḍ* by No. 58 (*jaśtva*). Thus nom. and acc. sg. of *lih* would be *liṭ* or *liḍ*. Before vowel case-endings no change occurs and we have the forms *lihau*, *lihaḥ*, *lihā* etc. Before the consonantal endings (namely *bhyām*, *bhiḥ bhyaḥ* and *su*) *h* is changed to *ḍh* = *ḍ* (before *bh* by No. 58). Thus we have *liḍbhyām* etc. Before *su* also *h* = *ḍh* (by No. 234) = *ḍ* (by No. 58). Then at this stage because *ḍ* is followed by *s*, there will be *dhuṭ* (=*dh*) *āgama* (by No. 74) and this *dh* is changed to *t* (by No. 66). Thus we finally get the form *liṭtsu*. But since the *dhuṭ āgama* is optional, we also have *liṭsu*.

235. Now we turn to the word *duh* which also is a *kṛdanta* (from √*duh*) and hence can have case-endings appended to it. In this *sūtra* the word *haḥ* (as also all the other words got in the previous *sūtra*) is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a root, beginning with *d* in *upadeśa* and ending in *h*, substitutes its *h* by *gh* (instead of *ḍh* as in

the previous *sūtra*), when followed by a *jhal* or when it is at the end of a *pada*. Thus the position is *duh*+*s* = *dugh*+*s*.

236. In this *sūtra* the word *dhātoḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Both *ekācaḥ* and *dhātoḥ* are *avayava ṣaṣṭhī*, while *baśaḥ* is *sthāneyogā ṣaṣṭhī*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *bhaṣ* is substituted for *baś* belonging to the monosyllabic part of a root ending in *jhaṣ*, when it is followed by *s* or *dhv*, or when followed by nothing. Accordingly now *dugh*+*s* = *dhugh*+*s* = *dhuk* (or *dhug*), by elision of *s* (No. 158), *cartva* (by *vāvasāne*, *PA* 8.4.56), and *jaśtva* (by No. 58), besides *bhaṣtva* (by No. 236). Before vowel endings no change occurs and we get the forms *duh*+*au* = *duhau*; *duh*+*as* = *duhaḥ*; etc.

Before *bhyām*, *bhiḥ* and *bhyaḥ*, the final *h* will be changed to *gh* (No. 235) and *d* = *dh* (No. 236). So *duh*+*bhyām* = *dhugh*+*bhyām* = *dhugbhyām* (No. 58). Similarly loc. plr. would be *duh*+*su* = *dhugh*+*su* = *dhuk*+*su* (*cartva*) = *dhuk*+*ṣu* (by *PA* 8.4.59, *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) = *dhukṣu*.

237. In this *sūtra* *haḥ* and *ghaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti* along with the other words as in No. 235. Thus acc. to this *sūtra* the final *h* of *druh*, etc. is changed to *gh* optionally. (i.e. to *gh* or *ḍh* by No. 234). Nom. sg. of *druh* (a *kvibanta* from √*druh*) is *dhruk*, *dhrug* (to be explained like *dhuk*, *dhug* of *duh*) and *dhruṭ*, *dhruḍ* (to be explained like *liṭ*, *liḍ*) together with the change of *d* to *dh* (No. 236).

No change occurs before vowel case endings. Thus *druhau*, *druhaḥ*, etc.

dhrugbhyām, *dhrugbhiḥ*, *dhrugbhyaḥ* are to be explained like *dhugbhyām* etc. Optionally *h* = *ḍh* = *ḍ* (as in *lih*+*bhyām*)

and hence we have the forms *dhruḍbhyām*, *dhruḍbhiḥ*, *dhruḍbhyaḥ*. Before *su* (loc. plr.), when *h* is changed to *gh* = *g* = *k*, the following *s* will be changed to *ṣ* and the form will be *dhrukṣu*. But optionally *h* is changed to *ḍh* = *ṭ* (*cartva*), and with optional *dhuṭ* *āgama* (as in the case of *lih*) we shall have the forms *dhruṭsu*, *dhruṭtsu*. Thus in all there will be three forms.

The words *muh*, *snuh* and *snih* are to be similarly declined. In the case of the last two words, however, we have to note the following rule.

238. The word *ṣaḥ* (like *haḥ* in No. 234) is *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī*. The *sūtra* lays down that *ṣ* standing at the beginning of a *dhātu* (in the *dhātupāṭha*) is to be substituted by *s*. Hence *ṣṇih* and *ṣṇuh* in the previous *sūtra* are to be read as *snih* and *snuh* respectively. nom. sg. of *snuh* (like *druh*) would be *snuk*, *snug*, *snuṭ* and *snuḍ*. Similarly the word *snih*.

239. This and the next *sūtra* deal with *samprasāraṇa* (a phenomenon opposite of *yaṇādeśa*). This *sūtra* defines *samprasāraṇa* in general as the substitution of *ik* (=*i*, *u*, *ṛ*, and *ḷ*) for *yaṇ* (= *y*, *v*, *r* and *l* respectively).

240. And this *sūtra* declares that *samprasāraṇa* in the case of words ending in *vāh* will be *ūṭh* (=*ū*). The word *samprasāraṇa* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*, and *bhasya* is got by *adhikāra*, (*bhasya*, *PA* 6.4.129). Thus for acc. plr. of *viśvavāh*, the position is: *viśvavāh*+*as* =*viśva* *ū* + *āh*+*as* (No. 240).

241. This *sūtra* lays down *pūrvarūpa* as *ekādeśa* when *samprasāraṇa* is followed by a vowel. In this *sūtra aci* and

pūrva are got by *anuvṛtti* and *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* (*PA* 6.1.83) is *adhikāra*. Hence now we get *viśva+ūh+as*.

242. Here ordinarily No. 27, *ād guṇaḥ* should apply. But it is prevented by the present *sūtra* which lays down *vṛddhi* as *ekādeśa* for *a* and the initial vowel of *eti, edhati* and *ūṭh* (=*ū*). Thus we now get *viśvauhaḥ*. In this *sūtra*, the words *āt, vṛddhiḥ,* and *eci* are got by *anuvṛtti*.

243. In this *sūtra* the word *sarvanāmasthāna* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus the *sūtra* means that the words *catur* and *anaḍuh* take the augment *ām* (which is *udātta*). The augment *ām* (=*ā*) being *mit* will be infixed after the last vowel in the base. Thus for nom. sg. of *anaḍuh* the position is: *anaḍuh* +*s* = *anaduāh*+*s* (No. 243) = *anaḍvāh+s*.

244. In this *sūtra num* is got by *anuvṛtti;* and thus the *sūtra* lays down the augment *num* (= *n*) for the word *anaḍuh* before *su* (= *s* of nom. sg.). Thus the position becomes; *anaḍvānh+s*. At this stage the *s* is elided by No. 158 and then *h* is elided by *PA* 8.2.23, *saṁyogāntasya lopaḥ*. Thus finally we get *anaḍvān*.

245. This *sūtra* is to be understood as an exception to No. 243. Before *sarvanāmasthāna,* the *āgama* is *ām,* while before *sambuddhi* (see No. 110) it is *am*. Hence voc. sg. would be *he anaḍvan* (to be explained like nom. sg. *anaḍvān*). nom. du., plr. etc. would be *anaḍvāhau, anaḍvāhaḥ,* etc.

But before vowel endings from acc. plr. onwards there will be no changes and the forms would be *anaḍuhaḥ, anaḍuhā,* etc.

246. This *sūtra* comes in for application when *anaḍuh* is followed by consonantal endings. In this *sūtra, vasu* by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* stands for *vasvanta* (*pada*, got by *adhikāra*). The word *saḥ* (= *sakārasya*) is got by *anuvṛtti*, which by *tadantavidhi* = *sakārāntasya* (*vasvantasya padasya*). The *ādeśa d* (being *ekāl*) is *antādeśa*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *d* is substituted for the final letter (*varṇa*, here *s* or *h*) of *vasvanta* words ending in *s*, and of words *dhvaṁs, sraṁs* and *anaḍuh*. Here we are concerned with *anaḍuh* when followed by *bhyām* etc. Here *anaḍuh* is a *pada* (by *PA* 1.4.17). Hence *h* is at *padānta* and thus changed to *d*. The form, therefore, would be *anaḍudbhyām*. Before *su* (loc. plr.) by *cartva* we get *anaḍutsu*.

247. The word *mūrdhanya* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 8.3.55). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *ṣ* is substituted for *s* of *sah* (i.e. a word ending in *sah*) when it has the form *sāḍ*. Thus nom. sg. of *turāsāh* is *turāṣāh*+*s* = *turāṣāṭ, turāṣāḍ* (by No. 234, *chartva* and dropping of *s* by No. 158). Before vowel endings no change occurs. So we have the forms *turāṣāhau* etc. Before consonantal endings there will be *mūrdhanyādeśa, ḍhatva, jaśtva* and *cartva* as has been already explained above; and the forms will be *turāṣāḍbhyām* etc. *turāṣāṭsu* or *turāṣāṭtsu*.

248. In this *sūtra, divaḥ* is gen. sg. of *div* (which is here to be taken as a *prātipadika*). This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa auṭ* (=*au*), which being *ekāl* is *antādeśa*, for the base *div* when followed by *s* (nom. sg. ending, got by *anuvṛtti*). Thus nom. sg. of *sudiv* is *sudiv*+*s* = *sudyau*+*s* = *sudyauḥ*.

Before vowel endings no change occurs and we get the forms *sudivau, sudivaḥ*, etc.

249. In this *sūtra, padānta* is got by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa u* for the word *div* at the end of a *pada* (i.e. when followed by consonantal case-endings from instr. onwards). Thus *sudiv + bhyām = sudiu+ bhyām = sudyubhyām*.

250. This *sūtra* pertains to *catur* (a base ending in *r*). No. 243 has already laid down the *ādeśa ām* for the word *catur* before *sarvanāmasthāna* endings. Thus *catur+as* (nom) = *catuār+as = catvāraḥ*. The forms of the remaining cases excepting the gen. are: *caturaḥ, caturbhiḥ, caturbhyaḥ*, and *caturṣu*.

The word *āmaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *āgama nuṭ* in the case of *ṣaṣ* (see *PA* 1.1.24) and the word *catur* before *ām* (gen. plr. ending). Thus *catur nām = caturṇām* (*PA* 8.4.1).

251. This *sūtra* lays down that *n*, coming immediately after *r* and *ṣ* in the same *pada*, is changed to *ṇ*. Hence *caturṇām*.

252. For loc. sg. the position is *catur+su*. Here No. 81 would seem to have scope. But the present *sūtra* prevents it, laying down that only *ru* (and not any *repha*) is changed to *visarga* when followed by *sup* (loc. sg. ending). Hence *r* of *catur* is not changed to *visarga* and we get *caturṣu* (*s = ṣ* by *ādeśapratyayoḥ, PA* 8.3.59).

253. Now we take the word *praśām* (ending in *m*). For nom. sg. the position is *praśām+s*. The present *sūtra* lays down that the final *m* of a *dhātu* (=*dhātvantasya padasya*) is changed to *n*. Now by No. 158 *s* is elided and thus *m* comes at the end of a *pada;* and is, therefore, changed to *n*.

Hence *praśān*. The further forms are *praśāmau, praśāmaḥ,* etc. (acc. plr.). Now before vowel case endings there will be no change and the forms will be *praśāmā* etc. (instr. sg.). Before *bhyām, bhiḥ, bhyaḥ,* and *su, praśām* can be designated *pada* and hence *m* in the base before these endings is changed to *n*. Thus the forms will be *praśānbhyām,* etc. Before *su* (loc. plr. ending) besides *n ādeśa,* there will be *dhuṭ āgama* optionally. (*PA* 8.3.30, *naś ca*). Hence we have two forms, namely *praśāntsu, praśānsu.*

254. The pron. *kim* ends in *m;* but this *sūtra* lays down that before *vibhakti* suffixes or endings it is changed to *ka* and then is to be declined like *sarva*. Thus we get the forms *kaḥ, kau, ke,* etc.

255. Another pron. ending in *m* is *idam*. We have already seen that *tyad* etc. are changed to *tya* etc. (No. 172). There it has already been stated that No. 172 is to be applied to pronouns upto *dvi* and it would thus be applicable to *idam* also. The present *sūtra* is an exception to that rule, and lays down that before *s* (nom. sg. ending) *m* is substituted for (the final letter of) *idam*. Thus the position is: *idam+s = idam+s.*

256. This *sūtra* lays down that *ay* (*anekāl* and hence *sarvādeśa*) is substituted for *id* (of *idam*) in the masculine. Thus the position becomes *ayam+s = ayam* (No. 158).

257. For nom. du. the position is *idam+au = ida+a+au* (by No. 172). At this stage comes up this *sūtra* which lays down that when *a* (not at the end of a *pada*) is followed by *guṇa* (i.e. *a, e,* or *o,* No. 25), *pararūpa* is to be substituted for both. In this *sūtra* the words *apadāntāt*

and *pararūpam* are got by *anuvṛtti,* while *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 6.1.83). Thus the position now becomes, *ida au.*

258. In this *sūtra,* the whole of No. 254 comes by *anuvṛtti;* and *daḥ* is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* of *d*. The word *vibhaktau* is, however, to be brought into this *sūtra* by *maṇḍūkapluti* (from *PA* 7.2.84, No. 278 below). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *d* of *idam* is to be substituted by *m* when a *vibhakti* follows. Hence we get *ima+au* = *imau* (by No. 33). Nom. plr. *ime* is to be similarly explained (*jaś* is substituted by *śi* by No. 222).

Here V points out the general rule that pronouns (i.e. *tyad* etc.) have no. voc. Forms of acc. are explained in *PA* 2.4.34 along with instr. sg. and gen. and loc. du., where the word *idam* is substituted by *ena* (in *anvādeśa*). Our author has, for the sake of simplicity, evaded this *sūtra* altogether. Thus the regular acc. forms of *idam masc.* are to be obtained from the base *ima* like *sarva.*

259. For the forms of instr. sg. etc. this *sūtra* is required. In this *sūtra, idamaḥ* and *idaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and the word *vibhaktau* by *maṇḍūkapluti* as above. The word *āpi* is loc. sg. of *āp* which, because it comes in the context of *vibhakti,* has to be understood as a *pratyāhāra* covering all case-endings from instr. sg. upto loc. plr. The word *akaḥ* means *akakārasya* (*idamaḥ*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *an* will be substituted for *id* of *idam* before *vibhakti pratyayas,* provided *idam* has not the letter *k* appended to it. Thus instr. sg. is: *idam+ā* = *ida+ā* (by No. 172) = *ana+ā* (No. 259) = *ana ina* (No. 118) = *anena.*

260. In this *sūtra* also *idamaḥ, idaḥ, akaḥ,* and *āpi* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and thus the *sūtra* lays down that *id* of *idam,* not containing *ka* in it, will be elided before *āp* (i.e. case-endings from instr. sg. upto loc. plr.) beginning with a consonant. Here *hali,* by *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe,* means *halādau.* (*vibhaktau* got by *maṇḍūkapluti*). Thus *idam* + *bhyām* = *ida*+*bhyām* = *a*+*bhyām* = *ā* + *bhyām* (No. 119) = *ābhyām*.

Here it has to be observed that *a* (*ādeśa*) is *ekāl* and should ordinarily be *antyādeśa* (No. 20). But a *paribhāṣā* says that this rule (i.e. No. 20) is not to be applied in the case of a base (*sthānin*) which has no meaning (*anarthaka*) except *abhyāsa vikāra.* Hence here *a* is rightly substituted for the whole of *id.* (see *Pbh.* 96).

261. For instr. plr. the position is *idam*+*bhis* = *ida*+*a* +*bhis* = *ida*+*bhis* = *a*+*bhis.* At this stage No. 120 would require *bhis* to be substituted by *ais.* But the present *sūtra* prevents this substitution. In this *sūtra, bhisa ais* is got by *anuvṛtti;* and *akoḥ* is gen. du. = *akakārayoḥ.* Then by No. 123, *a* is changed to *e* and we finally get *ebhiḥ.* The forms *asmai, ebhyaḥ, asmāt, asya,* etc. can be similarly explained.

262. Now we take *rājan* (base ending in *n* or *an*). In nom. sg. the position is: *rājan*+*s* = *rājān*+*s* (No. 156) = *rājān* (No. 158) = *rājā* (No. 160). Similarly are to be explained the forms: *rājānau* (nom. and acc. du.), *rājānam* (acc. sg.), and *rājānaḥ* (nom. plr.).

For voc. sg. the position is : *rājan*+*s.* Here comes the present *sūtra* for application. The whole of No. 160 is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti.* Thus the *sūtra* prohibits the elision

of *n* (laid down in No. 160) before *ṅi* (loc. sg.) and *sambuddhi* (voc. sg.). Hence voc. sg. is *he rājan*. For acc. plr. the position is: *rājan+as* = *rāj n+as* (No. 231) = *rāj ñ+as* (No. 52) = *rājñaḥ*. Similarly are to be explained forms like *rājñā* (instr. sg.) (with vowel case-endings). Forms like *rājabhyām* (with consonantal case-endings) are to be explained by No. 160.

In loc. sg. the elision of penultimate *a* is optional (by No. 232) and hence we have the forms *rājñi, rājani*.

263. All words ending in *n* (or *an*) are to be declined like the word *rājan*. Certain peculiar cases, however, have to be noted. In this *sūtra* are noted words ending in *an* having a *vānta* or *mānta saṁyoga* (i.e. a conjunct consonant ending in *v* or *m*). In the case of these words the elision of penultimate *a* (as per No. 231) is prohibited. Hence *yajvan+as* (acc. plr.) = *yajvanaḥ;* and *brahman as* (acc. plr.) = *brahmaṇaḥ*. But for this these words are to be declined like *rājan*.

264. This *sūtra* lays down the lengthening of the penultimate (of words ending in *n*) in the case of the words *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, and words ending in *in* and *han* (*tadantavidhi*), before *śi* (No. 222).

265. This *sūtra* adds that the lengthening will take place before *su* (nom. sg., *asambuddhau* got by *anuvṛtti*). Thus *vṛtrahan+s* = *vṛtrahan* = *vṛtrahān* = *vṛtrahā*. In voc. sg. no elongation and hence the form *vṛtrahan*. But for this these words are to be declined like *rājan*.

266. This *sūtra* lays down that *n*, belonging to the monosyllabic latter member of a compound, is changed

to *ṇ* even when the *nimitta* for it exists in the *pūrvapada*. Ordinarily cerebralisation of *n* into *ṇ* takes place only if *n* and the *ṇatvanimitta* stand in the same *pada*. Now in *vṛtrahan*, *ṛ* and *n* belong to two different *padas*. This makes it necessary to lay down a special rule for it. In this *sūtra* the word *samāse* is got on the strength of the word *uttarapada*, which denotes the final member of a *samāsa*. The word *ekājuttarapada* is a *bahuvrīhigarbha bahuvrīhi;* and hence means a compound in which the final member has one vowel. Hence *vṛtrahan+au* = *vṛtrahaṇau;* similarly *vṛtrahaṇaḥ*, etc.

267. Now for acc. plr. the position is: *vṛtrahan+as* = *vṛtrahn+as* (No. 231). Here comes up this *sūtra* which lays down that *h* of √*han* will be changed to *gh* when followed by *ñit* or *ṇit* suffixes or by *na*. The word *ku* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we now get *vṛtraghnaḥ*. Similar phenomenon will occur before all vowel case-endings.

The words *śārṅgin*, *yaśasvin*, *aryaman*, and *pūṣan* are similarly declined.

268. Now we come to the word *maghavan*. In this *sūtra maghavā* is nom. for gen.; and *tṛ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* lays down that the word *maghavan* has the *ādeśa* *tṛ* (=*t*) variously. Thus the word would be either *maghavat* or *maghavan*. The *ṛ* in *tṛ* here is mute and serves the purpose as shown in the next *sūtra*.

269. In this *sūtra*, (in *ugidacām*) *ac* stands for √*añc* with its nasal elided; and *num* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the augment *num* before *sarvanāmasthāna pratyayas* to *ugit* formations (not roots) and to

√*añc* with *ñ* dropped. In the case under consideration the word *maghavat* is an *ugit* formation (formation in *tṛ*) and hence it will take *numāgama* in nom. and acc. sg. and du. and nom. plr. forms. Thus the forms would be: ***maghavān, maghavantau, maghavantaḥ; he maghavan; maghavantam;*** acc. plr. will not have *num* and it will be ***maghavataḥ.***

But when *tṛ* is not substituted, the word will be ***maghavan*** only and is to be declined like *rājan* before *suṭ* (i.e. the first five infletions: *maghavā, maghavānau,* etc.).

270. For acc. plr. the position is: *maghavan+as.* In this *sūtra samprasāraṇa* is got by *anuvṛtti, bhasya* is got by *adhikāra,* and *anaḥ* (= *annantasya* by *tadantavidhi*) is got by *apakarṣa* (from *PA* 6.4.134). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that these words, ending in *an,* when they have the designation *bha,* will take *samprasāraṇa* before *pratyayas* other than *taddhita.* Thus *maghavan as = magha ua n as = magha u n+as =* ***maghonaḥ.***

Before consonantal endings there is no change except the elision of *n;* and the forms are *maghavabhyām,* etc. The words *śvan* and *yuvan* are to be similarly declined.

271. For acc. plr. (of *yuvan*) the position is *yuvan+as = yu ua n as = yu u n+as =* ***yūnaḥ.*** Here it has to be observed that when in a word there are two or more letters from (the *pratyāhāra*) *yaṇ,* the *samprasāraṇa* is to occur in the last one among them; and when one has undergone *samprasāraṇa,* none of the other *yaṇ* letters will take it. In the present case *y* and *v* are the two *yaṇ* letters; and of these the latter (i.e. *v*) has undergone *samprasāraṇa.* Hence the former (namely *y*) will not have

it. Thus the acc. plr. form will be *yūnaḥ* only. Similar will be the case with all the other vowel case-endings.

272. Now we turn to the words *pathin, mathin,* and *ṛbhukṣin,* for which P has laid down *ā* (*antādeśa*) before *s* (nom. sg. ending), the word *sau* being got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus *pathin+s = pathi ā+s.*

273. This *sūtra* is in continuation of No. 272 and is to be understood in the same way. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the words *pathin* etc. will substitute their *i* by *a* before *sarvanāmasthāna.* Thus now we have *patha ā+s = pathā+s.*

274. Here *pathimathoḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti;* and the *sūtra* lays down that *th* will be substituted by *nth.* Thus nom. sg. is *panthāḥ*. Similarly are to be explained the forms *panthānau, panthānaḥ* and *panthānam.*

275. For acc. plr. the position is *pathin+as.* Now this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *ṭi* of *bha.* In the case under consideration *pathin* is *bha* (No. 144); and hence its *ṭi* (No. 38) will be dropped. Thus we have *path+as = pathaḥ.* Similar will be the operations before all vowel endings; while before consonantal endings only the final *n* will be dropped. Thus we have *pathibhyām,* etc. The words *mathin* and *ṛbhukṣin* are to be similarly declined.

276. In this *sūtra* P has laid down that a *saṁkhyā* (got by *anuvṛtti*) ending in *ṣ* or *n* will have the designation *ṣaṭ.* No. 168 has laid down that *jas* and *śas* after the *ṣaṣ* are dropped. Hence nom. and acc. of *pañcan* is *pañcan as = pañcan = pañca.* In the other forms only *n* is elided and we have *pañcabhiḥ, pañcabhyaḥ.*

277. For gen. the position is *pañcan+ām* = *pañcan+nām* (No. 250). At this stage, the present *sūtra* lays down that the penultimate of a *nānta saṁkhyā* will be lengthened before *nām*. Hence we get *pañcānām*. In loc. the form is *pañcasu*.

278. In this *sūtra* the word *hali* is got by *apakarṣa* and by *tadādividhi* means *halādi* (*vibhakti*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa ā* for (the *anta* of) *aṣṭan* before consonantal endings.

279. The *ādeśa ā* is optional. The present *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa au* for *jas* and *śas*. Thus *aṣṭan+as* = *aṣṭā+as* = *aṣṭā+au* = *aṣṭau*. Before *bhiḥ*., *bhyaḥ*, etc. by No. 278 there will be *ātva;* and the forms will be *aṣṭābhiḥ, aṣṭābhyaḥ, aṣṭānām* (see No. 250), and *aṣṭāsu*.

When, however, there is no *ātva* (owing to *vikalpa*) the word *aṣṭan* is declined like *pañcan*.

280. In this *sūtra* the word *kvin* is got by *anuvṛtti* and *dhātu* by *adhikāra* (*PA* 3.1.91). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffix *kvin* (in which *k* and *n* are mute) for *ṛtu* + √*yaj*, √*dhṛṣ*, √*sṛj*, √*diś*, √*ṣṇih*, √*añc*, √*yuj*, and √*kruñc*. Our author further explains the matter by declaring that *kvin* is appended to √*añc* preceded by a *subanta upapada*, but to √*yuj* and √*kruñc* by themselves, and lays down non-elision of nasal in the case of √*kruñc*.

281. This *sūtra* lays down that any *pratyaya* that is laid down in the *adhikāra dhātoḥ* (*PA* 3.1.91), excepting the *tiṅ pratyayas* (*PA* 3.4.78), have the designation *kṛt*. So *kvin* is a *kṛt* suffix and hence the words *ṛtvij* etc. are *kṛdanta* formations.

282. We have already seen that in *kvin*, *k* and *n* are *it*. Now this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *v* in *vi* (=*v*) if it is *apṛkta* (see No. 157). Thus now we have the formations *ṛtvij* etc. which, being *kṛdanta*, are *prātipadikas* and hence can take case endings.

283. In this *sūtra* the words *sarvanāmasthāna* and *num* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *kvin* formation from √*yuj* when not in a compound will take the augment *num* before *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus for nom. sg. the position is: *yuj*+*s* = *yu n j*+*s* = *yun* (by Nos. 19 and 158).

284. In this *sūtra* the word *padasya* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 8.1.16) and *ante* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Here it has to be noted that the *ādeśa ku* is for the base which is derived by adding the suffix *kvin*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *kutva* of the final letter of the *kvin* formation. Thus here *yun* changes its *n* to *ṅ* (by *kutva*) and we get the form *yuṅ* (nom. sg.). Further forms are *yuñjau*, *yuñjaḥ*. From acc. plr. onwards there will be no *num* and hence acc. plr. would be *yujaḥ*.

285. Before consonantal endings the final *j* (of all these words in No. 280) will be changed to *g* or *k* by this *sūtra*. In this *sūtra*, *jhali* and *padānte* are got by *anuvṛtti* and *adhikāra* respectively. Thus nom. sg. of *suyuj* would be *suyuj*+*s* = *suyuj* = *suyuk* (or *suyug*), *suyujau* (nom. and acc. du.), *suyujaḥ* (nom. acc. plr.), etc. Here the word is a *samāsa;* and hence there is no *numāgama* (No. 283). Similarly are to be declined the words *ṛtvij*, etc.

286. The word *jhali* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* and *padānte* by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitute *ṣ* for (the *anta* of) the roots *vraśca* etc., and of roots ending in *ch* and *ś* when followed by a *jhal* or by nothing. Thus *rāj+s* = *rāj* (No. 158) = *rāṣ* (No. 286) = *rāḍ* (No. 58) or *rāṭ* (No. 124). There is no change before vowel case-endings; while before consonantal case-endings, the final letter is changed to *ṭ* or *ḍ* as shown above. Thus we get the forms *rājau, rāḍbhyām*, etc. Similarly are to be declined the words *devej, vibhrāj, viśvasṛj* (all *kvip* formations).

Now we take up *bhṛsj* (a *kvip* formation from √*bhrasj*.

287. The words *padānte*, and *jhali* are got in this *sūtra* as before and *lopaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *s* and *k* are dropped when they occur at the beginning of *saṁyoga* (conjunct consonant) which stands at the end of a *pada* or when it is followed by a *jhal*. Thus, *bhṛsj+s* = *bhṛsj* (No. 158) = *bhṛj* (No. 287) = *bhṛṣ* (No. 286) = *bhṛṭ* or *bhṛḍ* (Nos. 124 and 58). For nom. and acc. du. the position is *bhṛsj au* = *bhṛśj* (No. 52) = *bhṛjj* (*PA* 8.4.53) = *bhṛjjau*. Similarly before all vowel case-endings; while before consonantal case-endings the final will be changed to *ṭ* or *ḍ* as shown above.

288. Now we turn to words ending in *d* (such as *tyad, tad*, etc.). Thus *tyad+s* = *tya a+s* = *tya+s* (Nos. 172 and 257 respectively). Now this *sūtra* lays down that *t* and *d* (of *tyad* etc.) are changed to *s* before *s* (of nom. sg.) provided they do not stand at the end. By this now we

get *sya+s* = *syaḥ*. Similarly nom. sg. of *tad* is *saḥ;* and of *etad* is *eṣaḥ*. The other forms are like *sarva*.

289. Two other pronouns ending in *d* are *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. This and the following *sūtras* deal with the declension of these pronouns.

This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa am* for *ṅe* (dat. sg.) and the endings of the first two cases in the case of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Thus *yuṣmad+s* = *yuṣmad+am*. Similarly *asmad+am*.

290. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas tva* and *aha* for (the *maparyanta* portion of) these pronouns before *s* (nom. sg.). Thus we get *tva ad+am*. Similarly *aha ad+am*. Here it has to be noted that all the *ādeśas* laid down for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are governed by the *adhikāra, maparyantasya* (*PA* 7.2.91). Then by No. 257, we get *tvad+am*. Similarly *ahad+am*.

291. In this *sūtra* the words *vibhaktau* and *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. The word *śeṣa* means the remaining *vibhaktis* i.e. all the case-endings, except nom. and acc., before which the *ādeśas ā* and *y* are enjoined (in Nos. 293, and 298). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of the final letter (by No. 20) before case-endings, before which *ātva* and *yatva* are not laid down. Hence the position becomes *tva+am* (*aha+am*) = *tvam* (*aham*) by No. 113. Here it may be observed that our author has tried to simplify matters here by declaring *etayoṣ ṭilopaḥ* which takes us directly from *tvad+am* (*ahad+am*) to *tvam* (*aham*).

292. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas yuva* and *āva* for *adhikārayuṣmad* and *asmad* before all du. endings. The

maparyantasya has to be borne in mind. Thus *yuṣmad*+ *au* = *yuva ad*+*am* = *yuvad*+*am*.

293. This *sūtra* lays down the *antādeśa* *ā* for these pronouns before *au* (=*am* by No. 289) of nom. du. Hence *yuva* *ā*+*am* = *yuvām*. Similarly *āvām*. This *ātva* is said to take place in *bhāṣā* as apposed to *chandas*. Hence it is absent at times in the Veda where we get the forms *yuvam* and *avam* also.

294. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas* *yūya* and *vaya* (*maparyantasya*) before *jas* (nom. plr. ending). Thus *yuṣmad*+*as* = *yūya ad as* = *yūyad as* (No. 257) =*yūyad* +*am* (No. 289) = *yūy am* (No. 291) = *yūyam*. Similarly *vayam*.

295. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas* (*maparyantasya*) *tva* and *ma* before sg. case-endings. Thus *yuṣmad*+*am* = *tva*+*ad*+*am* = *tvad*+*am* (No. 257).

296. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa* *ā* for (the final of) these pronouns before *am* (acc. sg. ending). In this *sūtra* *ā* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we get *tva* *ā*+*am* = *tvām* (similarly *mām*).

297. For acc. plr. the position is *yuṣmad*+*as* = *yuṣma*+*am* (No. 289). This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa* *n* for (the initial of) *śas* (=*as*). This is according to the *paribhāṣā* *ādeḥ parasya* (No. 64). Hence *yuṣmad ns* = *yusmā ns* (No. 297) = *yuṣmān* (No. 19). Similarly *asmān*.

298. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa* *y* (for the final of these pronouns) before vowel case-endings. Thus *yuṣmad*+ *ā* = *tva ad*+*ā* = *tvad*+*ā* = *tvay*+*ā* = *tvayā*. Similarly

mayā. It has to be noted, however, that this *ādeśa* occurs only before such case-endings as have not been substituted by some *ādeśa*. (the word *anādeśe* being got by *anuvṛtti*).

299. This *sūtra* lays down the (*anta*) *ādeśa* *ā* before consonantal case-endings that are not substituted. Thus *yuṣmad +bhyām = yuva ad+bhyām = yuvad+bhyām = yuvā +bhyām = yuvābhyām*. Similarly *āvābhyām*. In plr. the position would be *yuṣmad bhiḥ = yuṣmā bhiḥ = yuṣmābhiḥ*. Similarly *asmābhiḥ*.

300. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas* (*maparyantasya*) *tubhya* and *mahya* for these pronouns before *ṅe* (dat.sg.). Thus *yuṣmad e = tubhya ad+e = tubhyad+am = tubhya +am* (No. 289) = *tubhyam* (No. 113). Similarly *mahyam*.

301. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa abhyam* for *bhyas* (dat. and abl. plr.). Thus *yuṣmad bhyas = yuṣmad abhyam = yuṣma abhyam* (No. 291) = *yuṣmabhyam*. Similarly *asmabhyam*. It may be observed that here the *ādeśa* is taken to be *abhyam* (as we have done it here) or even *bhyam* (see *Kāśikā*). Also see *MBh* on *PA* 7.1.30; and *Pbh*. 93.

302. In this *sūtra* the words *pañcamyā at* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sutra* lays down the *ādeśa at* (*sarvādeśa*) for *ṅasi* (=*as* of abl. sg.). Thus *yuṣmad+as = tva ad+ at = tvad+at = tva+at = tvat*. Similarly *mat*.

303. The word *bhyasaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus *yuṣmad+bhyas = yuṣmad+at = yuṣma+at = yuṣmat*. Similarly *asmat*.

304. This *sūtra* lays down *tava* and *mama* as *ādeśas* (*maparyantasya*) before *ṅas* (gen. sg. ending). Thus *yuṣmad+as = tava ad+as = tavad + as = tava+as*.

305. This *sūtra* lays down the *sarvādeśa aś* (=*a*) for *ṅas* (gen. sg. ending) after these pronouns. Thus now we get *tava a* = *tava* (No. 257). Similarly *mama*.

306. This *sūtra* lays down the *sarvādeśa ākam* for *sām* (gen. plr. ending, see No. 133). Thus *yuṣmad*+*sām* = *yuṣmad*+*ākam* = *yuṣma*+*ākam* = *yuṣmākam*. Similarly *asmākam*. The remaining forms *tvayi* (*mayi*), *yuṣmāsu* (*asmāsu*) are to be similarly explained.

307. This *sūtra* lays down the optional *ādeśas vām* and *nau* for the words *yuṣmad* and *asmad* standing in the gen., dat., and acc., provided they are *padāt para* and *apādādisthita*. The other forms, namely *yuvām* (*āvām*), *yuvābhyām* (*āvābhyām*) and *yuvayoḥ* (*āvayoḥ*), have been explained above.

308. This *sūtra* lays down the optional *ādeśas vas* and *nas* for them in the plr., under the same circumstances. Thus the forms are *vaḥ* (*yuṣmān, yuṣmabhyam,* and *yuṣmākam*) and *naḥ* (*asmān, asmabhyam,* and *asmākam*).

309. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas* (optional), *te* and *me,* for gen. sg. and dat. sg. Thus we have *te* (*tubhyam, tava*) and *me* (*mahyam, mama*).

310. This *sūtra* lays down the optional *ādeśas tvā* and *mā* for acc. sg. under similar conditions. Thus *tvā* (*tvām*) and *mā* (*mām*).

In the two couplets that follow our author has illustrated all the optional forms of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

311. This *vārttika* lays down that these *ādeśas* (Nos. 307-310) are to be used when they occur in one sentence

only; and a sentence is a statement that has only one finite verb. Thus *odanaṁ paca, tava bhaviṣyati* is not *eka vākya* and hence the form *te* cannot here be used in the place of *tava*. But in the statement *śālīnāṁ te odanaṁ dāsyāmi,* the form *te* has been rightly used. For it is *ekatiṅ* (and hence *eka vākya*).

312. In this *sūtra* the word *aṅga* and *bha* come by *adhikāra;* and by *tadantavidhi, pādaḥ* means *pācchabdāntasya.* This *sūtra* thus lays down the *ādeśa pat* (*anekāl* and hence *sarvādeśa*) for *pād* (and not the whole word ending in *pād*), according to the *paribhāṣā, nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti, Pbh.* 12).

313. In this *sūtra, aṅgānām* is got by *adhikāra; hal,* by *tadantavidhi,* stands for halanta; and *nasya lopaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of the penultimate *n* of consonantal *aṅgas* (the root of which is) not *idit,* when followed by *kit* or *ṅit pratyayas.* We take the word *prāñc* (*prāñc+kvin*). The base (*aṅga*) *prāñc* is *anidit halanta* and hence its penultimate *n* is dropped. Thus *prāñc+s* = *prāc+s* = *prānc+s* (No. 269) = *prānc* = *prān* = *praṅ* (No. 284). The other nom. forms are *prāñcau, prāñcaḥ.*

314. Here *acaḥ* is gen. sg. of *ac* (=√*añc* with its nasal elided). The word *allopaḥ* is got here by *anuvṛtti,* and *bhasya* by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *a* of *ac* (i.e. √*añc* with loss of nasal). Thus *prāñc+as* (acc. plr.). = *pra c+as* (Nos. 313, 314).

315. In this *sūtra, cau* is loc. sg. of *cu* (= √*añcu* with its *akāra* and nasal elided). The words *pūrvasya dīrgho'ṇaḥ*

are got here by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the lengthening of the preceding *aṇ* (= *a, i, u*), when followed by *cu* (i.e. √*añc* with the elision of *a* and nasal). Thus now we have *prāc*+*as* = *prācaḥ*. The other forms are *prāgbhyām* etc.

The forms *pratyaṅ, pratyañcau* etc. can be similarly explained. acc. plr. of *pratyañc* is. *pratyañc*+*as* = *pratya c*+*as* = *prati c*+*as* (No. 314) = *pratīc as* (No. 315) = *pratīcaḥ*. Similarly are to be explained the forms *udaṅ, udañcau* etc.

316. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa* ī for *a* of *ac* (i.e. √*añc* with its nasal elided) coming after *ud*. This *sūtra* is to be fully drawn out by referring to No. 315 above. Thus *udañc as* = *udac as* = *udīc as* = *udīcaḥ*. The other forms such as *udagbhyām* can be easily explained.

317. In this *sūtra* the words *añcatau apratyaye* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa sami* for *sam*, when followed by *apratyaya añcati*. Thus *samyañc as* = *samyac as* = *sami c*+*as* =*samīc*+*as* = *samīcaḥ*. But when the base is not *bha*, the form is *samyagbhyām*, etc.

318. This *sūtra* also is to be similarly explained. It lays down that *saha* is to be substituted by *sadhri* under similar circumstances. Thus *saha*+*ac*+*s* = *sadhri*+*ac*+*s* = *sadhri*+*anc*+*s* = *sadhri*+*anc* = *sadhryan* = *sadhryaṅ*.

319. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa tiri* for *tiras* when followed by *añcati* without any suffix and without the elision of its *a*. Thus we have *tiras ac*+*s* = *tiri ac*+*s* = *tiri añc*+*s* = *tiri añc* = *tiri an* = *tiryan* = *tiryaṅ*. The forms *tiryañcau, tiryañcaḥ*, etc. are quite regular. For acc. plr. the position is *tiryañc* + *as* = *tiras c*+*as* = *tiraścaḥ*. The forms *tiryagbhyām* etc. can be easily explained.

320. This *sūtra* prohibits the elision of the nasal of √*añc*, when by the formation *pūjā* (honour, respect) is to be conveyed. Thus the forms of *prāñc* are *prāṅ, prāñcau, prāñcaḥ, prāṅbhyām, prāṅkṣu*. Similarly are to be declined the words *pratyaṅ* etc. when they are *pūjārtha*.

Under No. 280 the non-elision of *n* in the case of *kruñc* has been already noticed. Here our author has given some of its forms: *kruṅ, kruñcau, kruṅbhyām*, etc.

Similarly *payomuc* is to be declined like *ṛtvij* and the forms are *payomuk, payomucau, payomugbhiḥ*. etc.

321. Now we take up the word *mahat* (√*mah*+*śatṛ*) which is *ugidanta* (ending in a suffix having a mute *uk* = *ṛ* in this case). It will, therefore, take the augment *num* before *sarvanāmasthāna* (No. 269). Now this *sūtra* lays down that the penultimate vowel, preceding *n* in the word *mahat* or in a conjunct consonant ending in *s*, is lengthened before *sarvanāmasthāna*, other than *sambuddhi* (i.e. voc. sg.). Thus *mahat*+*s* = *mahant*+*s* = *mahānt*+*s* = *mahānt* = *mahān*. Similarly are to be explained the forms *mahāntau, mahāntaḥ*, etc. In voc. sg. and in acc. plr. onwards no lengthening takes place; and thus the forms are *he mahan, mahataḥ, mahadbhyām* etc.

322. In this *sūtra, atu* by *tadantavidhi* means *atvanta* (i.e. a formation in suffixes having *atu* in them, like *matup, vatup*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the lengthening of the penultimate of an *atvanta* formation or an *asanta* word, which is not a *dhātu*, before *s* (not of voc. sg.). Thus *dhīmat* (an *atvanta* word) *s* = *dhīmant s* (No. 269) = *dhīmānt* (*sulopa, upadhāvṛddhi*) = *dhīmān* (*saṁyogāntlopa*) = *dhimān*. But

voc. sg. *dhīman*. The forms *dhīmantau* etc. can be similarly explained. Before *śas* (acc. plr.) and subsequent endings *dhīmat* is to be declined like *mahat*.

323. By *tadantavidhi, rvoḥ* means *rephavāntasya* (*dhātoḥ*) and *padānte* is got by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the penultimate of a *dhātu* ending in *r* or *v*, when standing at the end of a *pada*, is lengthened. Thus *pipaṭhiṣ+s* = *pipaṭhiṣ* (by *sulopa*) = *pipaṭhir* (No. 80) = *pipaṭhīr* (No. 323) = *pipaṭhīḥ*. Forms like *pipaṭhiṣau* can be easily explained. Similarly *pipaṭhīrbhyām*.

324. For loc. plr. the position is *pipaṭhiṣ+su* = *pipaṭhīr+su*. At this stage the present *sūtra* lays down that *s* coming after *iṇ* (= *i, u*) and *ku* (letter of *kavarga*) is changed to *ṣ* even when *num, visarjanīya* or *śar* intervene. The words *iṇkoḥ* and *mūrdhanyaḥ* are got here by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we get *pipaṭhīr+su* = *pipaṭhīḥ+ṣu* = *pipaṭhīṣṣu* (by No. 54).

325. Now we take up words like *vidvas* (i.e. *adhātu asanta* words). In this *sūtra, bhasya* is got by *adhikāra;* and *vasoḥ* means *vasvantasya* by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*. This *sūtra* lays down *samprasāraṇa* for *bha* ending in *kvasu* (i.e. Pf. participles). Thus *vidvas* being *ugidanta* takes *num* by No. 269. Thus *vidvas+s* = *vidvāns+s* = *vidvāns* = *vidvān*. voc. sg. is *vidvan* (no lengthening of *upadhā*). The forms *vidvāṁsau, vidvāṁsaḥ,* etc. can be similarly explained. For acc. plr. the position is *vidvas+as* = *vidus+as* = *viduṣ+as* = *viduṣaḥ*. Before *bhyām* etc. the final *s* of *vidvas* is changed to *d* (No. 246) and we get the forms *vidvadbhyām* etc.

326. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa asuṅ* (*antādeśa*) for the word *puṁs* in *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus *puṁs+s* = *pum as+s*

pumans+*s* (No. 269) = *pumans* (*sulopa*) = *pumān*. In nom. du. *n* is changed to *anusvāra* and thus we get the form *pumaṁsau*. voc. sg. is *he puman*. The other forms *puṁsaḥ* (acc. plr.), etc. can be easily explained. Before consonantal endings *s* of *puṁs* is elided and we get forms like *pumbhyām* and *puṁsu*.

vedhas (another *asanta* word) lengthens its *upadhā* before *s* (nom. sg.) and thus we get *vedhāḥ*; but voc. sg. *he vedhaḥ*. Forms like *vedhasau*, *vedhasaḥ* can be easily explained. Before *bhyām*, *bhis* and *bhyas* the final *s* undergoes *rutva*, *utva*; and then with the *ekādeśa guṇa* we get forms like *vedhobhyām*, *vedhobhiḥ*.

327. This *sūtra* lays down that before *su* (= *s* of nom. sg.) *adas* will take the *antādeśa au*. Thus *adas*+*s* = *ada au*+*s* = *asa au*+*s* (No. 288) = *asa au* (*sulopa*) = *asau* (No. 33).

Now for nom. du. the position is *adas*+*au* = *ada a* +*au* = *ada au* = *adau*. At this stage comes the following *sūtra*.

328. In this *sūtra aseḥ* (gen. sg. of *asi* = *asanta*) goes with *adasaḥ* which is *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. The word *u* is to be understood as a *samāhāra dvandva* to mean *u* and *ū*. Furthermore *daḥ* is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* of *d*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that in the case of *adas*, not ending in *s*, *u* or *ū* is substituted for the letter standing after *d*, and *m* is substituted for *d*. Now we take up the position *adau* (arrived at in the previous rule); and by this rule we get *amū* (here the substitute for *au* is *ū*, long for long). Our author has suggested this by stating that what *u* is to be substituted is to be decided on the basis of *āntaratamya* (No. 18).

For nom. plr. the position is *adas*+*jas* = *adas*+*ī* (No. 130) = *ade* (No. 27). At this stage comes the following *sūtra*.

329. In this *sūtra adaso'serdāt* and *do maḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *e* coming after *d* of *adas* not ending in *as*, is substituted by *ī* in the plural. Hence *ade* = *amī*. The forms *amum* and *amūn* can be similarly explained. Now for instr. sg. the position is: *adas*+*ā* = *amu*+*ā* (No. 328) = *amu nā* (Nos. 149 and 150). Here comes the following *sūtra* for consideration.

330. Now this *sūtra* lays down that so far as *nābhāva* (substitution of *nā* for *ā* No. 150) is concerned, whether it is effected or yet to be effected, *mubhāva* (No. 329) is not *asiddha*. In this *sūtra mu* is *samāhāra dvandva* and means *m* and *u*; while *ne* is loc. sg. of *nā* and means *ne kartavye kṛte ca*. The word *asiddham* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus *mutva* (No. 329) is to be considered as *siddha* (accomplished) when *nātva* is *kartavya;* and hence the base becomes *ghi* and thus *nābhāva* of *ā* is not prevented. Now after *nātva* is *kṛta*, if *mutva* is considered *asiddha*, then the *sūtra*, *supi ca* (No. 119) will apply and the final *a* of the *aṅga* will have to be lengthened (*dīrghaḥ prasajjyeta*). Hence *mutva* has to be considered as *na asiddha* even after *nābhāva* is effected (*kṛta*). Thus instr. sg. is *amunā*. All the other forms of *adas*, namely *amūbhyām*, *amībhiḥ*, *amuṣmai*, etc. are to be similarly explained.

331. In this *sūtra*, *padasya* is got by *adhikāra*; and *haḥ ante*, and *jhali* by *anuvṛtti*. The word *upānah* is to be declined. The next *sūtra* explains the formation of this word, before the present *sūtra* is made to operate.

332. The word *kvau* is loc. sg. of *kvi* (=*kvip*). This *sūtra* lays down that roots *nah* etc., when they have the suffix *kvip* appended to them, lengthen the final vowel of their *pūrvapada* (the word *pūrvasya* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*). Hence *upa nah+kvip* = *upānah*. For nom. sg. the position is *upānah+s* = *upānadh+s* = *upānad* = *upānat* (*upānad*). Similar changes take place before *bhyām, bhiḥ, bhyaḥ* and *su*, and we have the forms *upānadbhyām* etc.

Now we take up the word *uṣṇih* formed from *ut snih kvin* (No. 280). Bh. remarks: *nipātanāt dalopaṣatve.* Now since this is a *kvin* (and not a *kvip*) formation, it will have *kutva* (No. 284) and then *jaśtva* and *cartva* (No. 124). Hence nom. sg. is *uṣṇik* (*uṣṇig*). Before vowel case-endings there is no change and we have forms like *uṣṇihau, uṣṇihaḥ*, etc. Before consonantal case-endings there will be *kutva, jaśtva* (or *cartva*) and we shall have the forms *uṣṇigbhyām* etc., *uṣṇikṣu*.

The word *div* is to be declined exactly like the word *sudiv* noted above (Nos. 248-9 above). The forms *dyauḥ, divau, dyubhyām* etc. can be easily explained.

Now we take up the word *gir* which is formed by appending the suffix *kvip* to √*gṝ*. Now since this word ends in *r* (*repha*), its penultimate vowel is lengthened; and thus we get the forms *gīḥ, gīrbhyām*, etc. Before vowel case-endings the base cannot have the designation *pada;* and hence there is no lengthening. Hence we get forms like *girau, giraḥ*, etc.

The word *pur* is to be declined exactly like *gir*. The word *catur* in fem. becomes *catasṛ* (No. 205); and then it is to be declined like *tisṛ* (see No. 205-7). The forms *catasraḥ* (nom. acc.) and *catasṛṇām* gen. can be easily explained.

kim in fem. becomes *kā* (No. 254 and 194); and is then to be declined exactly like *sarvā* (i.e. *sarva* fem.).

333. In the word *idam* (fem.), the present *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *ya* for *da*. The words *idamaḥ* and *daḥ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus now *idam*+*s* = *iyam*+*s* = *iyam* (No. 172 is superceded by No. 255). Thus nom. sg. is *iyam*.

For nom. du. the position is: *idam*+*au* = *ida*+*au* (No. 172) = *ida ā*+*au* (*ṭāp* by No. 194) = *ima ā*+*au* (No. 258) = *imā*+*ī* (No. 195) = *ime* (27). The forms *imām, ime, imāḥ* (acc. sg. du. and plr.) can be similarly explained.

Before *āp* (i.e. case-endings from instr. sg. upto loc. **plr.**) *idam* is substituted by *an* (No. 259) which, with the fem. suffix appended to it, becomes *anā* and gives us the forms *anayā* (instr. sg.) and *anayoḥ* (gen. and loc. du.). Before *bhyām, bhis, bhyas* and *su, idam* drops *id* (No. 260); and we get the forms *ābhyām, ābhiḥ, ābhyaḥ* and *āsu* respectively. (See Notes on *ābhyām,* under No. 260 above). Before *ṅit* endings there will be *syāṭ āgama* and the forms will be: *asyai, asyāḥ,* and *asyām;* and *āsām* (gen. plr.) is to be explained like *sarvāsām* (No. 199).

The word *sraj* is to be declined exactly like *ṛtvij*. It is a *kvin* formation from √*sṛj* (No. 280); and hence will have *kutva* (by No. 284). The forms *srak, srajau* and *sragbhyām* can be easily explained.

The pron. *tyad* will be changed to *tya,* which with the fem. suffix *ṭāp* becomes *tyā;* and then it is declined exactly like *sarvā*. The nom. sg., of course, is *syā* (*t* being substituted by *s* by No. 288). Thus the forms of the nom. are *syā, tye, tyāḥ*.

The pronouns *tad, yad* and *etad* are similarly declined.. The word *vāc* is *kvip* formation from √*vac;* and hence it will have *kutva* acc. to No. 285. The forms *vāk, vācau, vāgbhyām* etc. can be easily explained. The word *ap* lengthens its vowel in nom. (by No. 182) and we get the form *āpaḥ;* while acc. plr. is *apaḥ*. It must be noted that this word is used always in plr.

334. Now this *sūtra* lays down that before *bh* (i.e. a case-ending beginning with *bh* by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*) the word *ap* takes the substitute (*antādeśa*) *d*. Thus we get the forms *adbhiḥ* and *adbhyaḥ*. The other forms, namely *apām* and *apsu* are quite regular. The word *diś* is a *kvin* formation from √*diś;* and hence will take *kutva* by No. 284. The forms of this word such as *dik, diśau, diśaḥ* etc. can be easily explained. The word *dṛś* also is a *kvin* formation from √*dṛś* (see *PA*. 3.2.60); and hence will have *kutva* (by No. 284). It is to be declined exactly like *diś*.

The word *tviṣ* will have no change before vowel case-endings; and we shall have forms like *tviṣau, tviṣaḥ,* etc. Before consonantal case-endings it will have *jaśtva* or *cartva* and we have forms like *tviṭ, tviḍ, tviḍbhyām,* etc. Before *su,* it will optionally have the *āgama dhuṭ;* and the forms will be *tviṭsu, tviṭtsu.*

The word *sajuṣ* is to be declined on the same lines as the word *pipaṭhiṣ* (explained under No. 323-24 above). The forms *sajūḥ, sajuṣau, sajūrbhyām* etc. can be easily explained. The word *āśiṣ* also is to be similarly explained. The pronoun *adas* is to be declined in the fem. as in the masc. but for the following case forms. In du. and plr. forms by No. 329, *ū*

(long) is substituted for the letter after *d;* and hence we get the forms *amū, amūḥ, amūm, amūbhiḥ* etc. In gen. and loc. du. and instr. sg. after *etva, ayādeśa, mutva,* and *utva* we get *amuyoḥ* and *amuyā* respectively; and *amuṣyai, amuṣyāh,* and *amuṣyām* are got by *syāṭ āgama, mutva, utva* and *ṣatva.*

To start with the declension of neut. words our author takes up the word *svanaḍuh.* Now, in nom. and acc. sg. the endings are dropped (by No. 227); and the final *h* is changed to *d* (by No. 246). Thus we get the form *svanaḍut* (by *cartva*). Before *ī* (No. 219) there is no change; and the form is *svanuḍuhī.* Before *i* (No. 222), however, the word takes the *āgama ām* (by No. 243); and we get *svanaḍu ā h i.* Then by No. 224, the *āgama num* (*n*) is infixed, which being changed to *anusvāra* (by No. 71) the form ultimately obtained is *svanaḍvāṁhi* (nom. and acc. plr.). In all the other cases this is to be declined like *anaḍuh* masculine. The word *vār* undergoes no changes. In nom. sg. the ending *s* is eilded (by No. 227), and the final *r* is changed to *visarga* (by No. 81). Thus we get the form *vāḥ.* All the other forms we get by simply appending the case-endings. Thus we have *vārī, vāri, vārā, vārbhyām,* etc. The word *catur* takes the *āgama ā* in nom. (No. 243); and we get the form *catvāri.* The other forms are as in the masc. The pron. *kim* is substituted by *ka* (No. 254) before nom. and acc. du. and plr. case-endings. In nom. acc. sg., however, the endings are dropped (by No. 227). Thus nom. and acc. forms are : *kim, ke, kāni.* The rest is like masc.

The pron. *idam* also after elision of nom. and acc. sg. endings gives us the form *idam.* In du. and plr. the forms

are *ime* and *imāni* which can be easily explained. The rest is like masc.

In the word *brahman,* after elision of the case-endings (by No. 227) and the elision of the final *n* (by No. 160), we get the nom. and acc. sg. form *brahma*. In voc. sg. the following *vārttika* operates.

335. According to this *vārttika,* the elision of *n* is to be declared as being optional in the case of neuter words. Hence voc. sg. of *brahman* is, *he brahma, he brahman.* The forms of nom. and acc. du. and plr. are *brahmaṇī* and *brahmāṇi*. The rest is like *ātman*. The word *ahan*: For nom. sg. the position is *ahan+s* = *ahan* (No. 227) = *ahar* (by No. 90) = *ahaḥ* (No. 81). Thus the form is *ahaḥ,* which is also the form of the acc. sg. For dual the position is *ahan+au* = *ahan+ī* (No. 219) = *ahn+ī* or *ahan+ī* (No. 232) = *ahnī* or *ahanī*. In plr. *i* is substituted for *jas* and *śas* (No. 222) and it being *sarvanāmasthāna* (No. 223) the penultimate *a* is lengthened before it (No. 156). Thus we get the form *ahāni*.

336. In this *sūtra* the words *ruḥ* and *antaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti,* while *padasya* is got by *adhikāra*. The word *ahan* is to be considered as *luptaṣaṣṭhīka* word. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the final of the word *ahan* is substituted by *ru* (= *r*) when standing at the end of a *pada*. Hence *ahan bhyām* = *ahar bhyām* = *aha u+bhyām* (No. 86) = *ahobhyām* (No. 27). All the other forms can be similarly explained.

The word *daṇḍin* will drop its case-endings in nom. and acc. sg. (No. 227) and the form will be *daṇḍi*. Before *śi*

(*i* of nom. and acc. plr. No. 222) the penultimate vowel is lengthened (Nos. 223 and 156) and the form is *daṇḍīni*. Before other vowel endings there is no change; and before consonantal endings the final *n* is dropped (No. 160). Thus can be explained all the forms of *daṇḍin*.

The pron. *tad* gives *tad* as nom. and acc. sg. (by No. 227). In all other cases the base becomes *ta* (No. 172 and 257) and is then declined like *sarva* (neut).

The pronouns *yad* and *etad* are also similarly declined.

337. Now we take up *dadat* (a *śatranta* formation from √*dā*). nom. and acc. sg. and dual are *dadat* (No. 227) and *dadatī* (No. 219). For nom. and acc. plr. the position is *dadat i* (No. 222) = *dadati*. But by this *sūtra* there will be optional *num āgama* and we shall also have *dadanti*. In this *sūtra* the words *abhyastāt śatuḥ*, *num* and *sarvanāmasthāne* come by *anuvṛtti*. Thus the *sūtra* lays down that the suffix *śatṛ* (= *at*) appended to *abhyasta* (roots), and neuter in gender, will have the augment *num* when followed by *sarvanāmasthāna*. The root *dā* is *abhyasta*. Hence nom. and acc. plr. of *dadat* is *dadati* or *dadanti*. In all other cases *dadat* is to be declined like *marut* (masc.)

338. A similar operation takes place in the case of *tudat* (a *śatranta* from a base ending in *a*). This *sūtra* also is to be completed like the previous *sūtra*. The word *āt* means *adantāt* (i.e. *aṅgāt* got by *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a *śatranta*, from a base ending in *a*, neuter in gender, will take the *āgama num* optionally before *śī* (nom. and acc. du. neuter) and *nadī* (i.e. *ṅīp* = *ī*). Thus *tudat*+*ī*

= *tudant*+ī or *tudat*+ī = *tudantī* or *tudatī*. In nom. and acc. plr. there is *num āgama* (by No. 224) and the form is *tudanti*. The other forms are as in the masc.

339. In the case of *śatṛ* after *śap* and *śyan* (i.e. roots of cl. 1 and 4) the *āgama num* occurs when followed by *śī* or *nadī*. Hence *pacat* ī = *pacant i* = *pacantī*. Similarly *dīvyat* ī = *dīvyant* ī = *dīvyantī*. In all other cases *pacat*, and *dīvyat* are declined exactly like *tudat*.

The word *dhanuṣ* will drop the case-endings in nom. and acc. sg. (No. 227); and the form will be *dhanuḥ*. In nom. and acc. plr. *śi* is substituted for *jas* and *śas* (No. 222) and by *numāgama* (No. 224) and *upadhādīrgha* (No. 322) we have the form *dhanūṁṣi*. Before vowel case-endings there is no change; while before consonantal case-endings the final *ṣ* is changed to *r* (or to *ṣ* optionally before *su* = *ṣu* of loc. plr.). Thus we have the forms *dhanuṣī*, *dhanurbhyām*, etc. The words *cakṣuṣ*, *haviṣ*, etc. are to be similarly declined.

The word *payas* gives the nom. and acc. forms: *payaḥ* (No. 227) *payasī* (No operation except substitution of *śī* for *auṅ* by No. 219), and *payāṁsi* (Nos. 222, 224 and 321). Before vowel case-endings no change occurs; and before consonantal case-endings the final *s* takes *rutva* and *utva* (Nos. 80 and 86); and we get forms like *payobhiḥ*, *payobhyaḥ*, etc. In loc. plr. again the final *s* is changed to *ru* and then to *visarga* optionally; and thus we have the forms *payaḥsu* or *payassu*. The pron. *adas* will drop the nom. and acc. sg. case-endings. (No. 227); and the form will be *adaḥ* (after *rutva* and *visarga*). The nom. and acc. du. will be: *adas*+

au = *ada+a+ī* (172 and 219) = *ada+ī* (No. 257) = *amū* No. 328); and nom. and acc(. plr. will be *adas+śī* (No. 222) = *ada+i* (No. 172) = *adan+i* (No. 224) = *amun i* (No. 328) = *amūni* (No. 156). In all other cases this is to be declined like *adas* (masc.)

340. In this *sūtra* P has declared that the words belonging to the *svarādi gaṇa* and also the words which have been declared as *nipātas* have the designation *avyaya*. Our author has given a few words of the *svarādigaṇa* and a few of the *cādigaṇa* and declared that both these are *ākṛtigaṇas*. P has discussed the *nipātas* in *PA* 1.4.56-97. He has discussed the designation *avyaya* in *PA* 1.1.37-40.

341. The section on *avyayas* is included in this *subanta* section because according to P even *avyayas* are *subantas* (like nouns, pronouns and adjectives). But the point of difference between the two is that in the case of *avyaya* the *sup* endings and the suffix *āp* are elided; while they are not elided after nouns etc. In this *sūtra* P lays down that after an *avyaya* there will be elision (*lopa*, got by *anuvṛtti*) of the suffix *āp* and also of the *sup* endings. In *tatra śālāyām*, *tatra* refers to *śālā* and hence must be fem. Hence it must have the fem. suffix appended to it. But it is elided by the present *sūtra*. Similarly *atha* is an illustration of the elision of *sup*.

It would thus appear that an *avyaya* according to P has *liṅga*, *vacana* and also *vibhakti* like other words. But the main point of difference between the *avyayas* and the other classes of words is that the latter undergo modifications as a result of *liṅga*, *vacana* and *vibhakti* while the *avyayas*

remain unmodified. This is what has been stated by the couplet given here by our author. In a way the couplet shows that the designation *avyaya* is quite significant and surely means what it literally conveys

Thus ends (the section on) *subanta* (i.e. declension) in the *Siddhāntasārakaumudī*.

342. Here our author has given the names of the ten *lakāras* in Sanskrit. Six of them are *ṭit* and the remaining four are *ṅit*. The purposes served by these mute letters (namely ṭ and ṅ) are noted in the subsequent *sūtras*. The vowels in these names (namely *a, i, u* and *ṛ*) are also mute and serve the purpose of distinguishing the *lakāras* from one another. In the present *sūtra* P has laid down the senses which the *lakāras* are meant to convey. In this *sūtra laḥ* (nom. plr. of *l*) means *lakārāḥ*. The words *dhātoḥ* and *kartari* are got here by *adhikāra* and *anuvṛtti* respectively. This *sūtra* is to be unuerstood as containing two sentences. The first sentence lays down that the *lakāras* are used after transitive roots to convey the sense of *kartṛ* and *karman;* while the second statement lays down that they are appended to intransitive roots to convey the sense of *kartṛ* or *bhāva*. It will be seen below (No. 344) that *l* (which here is said to convey the senses of *kartṛ*, or *karman* or *bhāva*) is substituted by several *pratyayas* (known by the *pratyāhāra tiṅ*).

343. In this *sūtra* the word *dhātoḥ* is got by *adhikāra*. The *sūtra* thus lays down that *laṭ* is appended to a root that conveys a *kriyā* of the present. As already said above, in the word *laṭ*, the two letters (namely *a* and ṭ) are *it* (mute). But the letter *l* is not to be so considered in spite of *PA* 1.3.8.,

laśakvataddhite. For if it is considered *it*, its *uccāraṇa* will be futile. Now we take up √*bhū* = to exist, to be, and when the *kartṛ* is to be conveyed, the position will be *bhū*+*la*.

344. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas* for *lakāra*. These are often referred to by the *pratyāhāra tiṅ*. They are eighteen in number. Some of these have some mute letters appended to them, the purposes of which will be explained at the proper places.

345. In this *sūtra*, *laḥ* is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī*; and *ādeśa* we get by *adhyāhāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the substitutes of *l* (given in No. 344) are designated *parasmaipada*. This, it must be observed, is a general rule and has to be modified by the next rule which is an *apavāda*. For, the rule is *prakalpya vāpavādaviṣayaṁ tata utsargā abhiniviśante* (*Pbh*. 63) or *pūrvaṁ hyaparvādā abhiniviśante paścād utsargāḥ* (*Pbh*. 62).

346. In this *sūtra taṅ* is a *pratyāhāra* based on *PA* 3.4.78 and conveys the nine personal endings from *ta* upto *mahiṅ*. Similarly *ānau* stands for the two suffixes *śānac* (*PA* 3.2.124) and *kānac* (*PA* 3.2.106), which also are *lādeśas* like *taṅ*. The suffix *cānaś* divested of its mute letters is identical with these. But it is not a *lādeśa* (See *PA* 3.2.129) and hence cannot be covered by *āna* in this *sūtra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the designation *ātmanepada* for the endings conveyed by the *pratyāhāra taṅ* and by the suffixes *āna* (i.e. *śānac* and *kānac*). This is, as has been already stated above, an *apavāda* to the *saṁjñā* laid down in the previous rule (No. 345).

347. The designations *parasmp.* and *ātmp.* as also their *saṁjñins* have been stated. Now we are being told when the *parasmp.* or the *ātmp. ādeśas* are to be substituted for *l.* The present *sūtra* lays down that *ātmp. ādeśas* are to be substituted for *l* after roots which have an *anudātta* (vowel) and the letter *ṅ* appended to them as mute letters. In this *sūtra* the word *upadeśe* is got by *maṇḍūkapluti* (from *PA* 1.3.2) and the word *dhātu* also is similarly obtained from *PA* 1.3.1. Then by *tadantavidhi ṅit* means a *dhātu* ending in mute *ṅ*. As for *upadeśa* also it has to be observed that it has relevance to the word *ṅit* and not to *anudāttet* also. The word *upadeśa* has been explained above (No. 1).

348. The expression *svaritañitaḥ* in this *sūtra* is to be explained like *anudāttaṅitaḥ* in the previous *sūtra*. This *sūtra* lays down that in the case of *svaritet* and *ñit* roots *l* will be substituted by the *ātmp.* endings, provided that the result arising out of the action (denoted by the root) is intended to accrue to the agent (*kartṛ*).

349. The word *dhātoḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra*. The word *śeṣa* in this *sūtra* naturally means the roots other than those referred to in Nos. 347 and 348. (i.e. roots which are not *anudāttet, svaritet,* and do not have *ṅ* or *ñ* mute appended to them in the *upadeśa*). This *sūtra* thus lays down that *parasmp. ādeśas* are substituted for *l* after these (= *śeṣa*) roots to convey the sense of *kartṛ*. It has been said above that *l* is appended to transitive roots to convey the sense of *kartṛ* and *karman* (No. 342), etc. Here it is laid down that when the *l* is *kartari,* its *ādeśa* will be *parasmp.* after the *śeṣa* roots.

350. In this *sūtra* we are given the three designations, namely *prathama, madhyama,* and *uttama* for the three triads (*trika*) respectively of both the *padas*. Thus in No. 344 the first part upto *mas* contains the three *trikas* of the *parasmp.*, while the remaining portion of that *sūtra* contains the three *trikas* of the *ātmp.* The endings are eighteen in all and naturally form six *trikas*. Thus *tip tas jhi* (*prathama parasmp*) while *ta ātam jha* (*prathama ātmp.*). The others can similarly be understood. Here it has to be noted that what P designates *prathama, madhyama* and *uttama* (*puruṣa, pūrvācāryasaṁjñā*) is generally described by modern scholars as the third, the second, and the first persons respectively.

351. In the former *sūtra* three *saṁjñās* have been given (*triśaḥ*, one for each *trika*). Now this *sūtra* gives designations for each one of the *ādeśas* in the *trika*. The *saṁjñās* are *eka-*, *dvi-*, and *bahu- vacana* respectively. Thus in these three *sūtras* we come to know of the classification of the endings into two *padas*, three persons, and three numbers.

352. This and the following two *sūtras* P has devoted to the use of these endings. The word *upapada* in this *sūtra* is to be understood in its literal sense, namely a word that is uttered in the vicinity (*upoccāritaṁ padam*). So also *sthānin* means a word the sense of which is understood but which is not actually employed. Hence V has paraphrased *sthānini* by *aprayujyamāne;* while by the word *prayujyamāne* he has brought out the force of the word *api*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *madhyama* endings are to be used when *yuṣmad*, expressed or implied, is used as *samānādhi-*

karaṇa (syntactically agreeing) with the *lakāra* for which the *tiṅ* (ending) is substituted.

353. When *asmad,* expressed or implied, is used like *yuṣmad* as stated in the previous rule, the *uttama* (endings) are to be substituted for the *lakāra*.

354. The *prathama* (endings) are to be substituted for *lakāra* in all other cases. Thus from the position *bhū+l* we now come to the position *bhū+ti.*

355. This *sūtra* lays down the *saṁjñā, sārvadhātuka,* for all the personal endings (*tiṅ,* mentioned in No. 344) and also suffixes etc. which have a mute *ś* appended to them. It has, however, to be noted that the word *dhātoḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* and hence this designation will apply only to such *śit pratyayas* as are laid down in the *dhātvadhikāra* (from *PA* 3.1.91 upto the end of the third *adhyāya*). The purpose of this *saṁjñā* is seen in the following *sūtra*.

356. In this *sūtra* the words *sārvadhātuka* and *dhātoḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *vikaraṇa, śap* (=*a*) is affixed to a *dhātu* when followed by a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* expressing the agent. Thus we have, *bhū+a+ti.*

357. In this *sūtra* the word *aṅgasya* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA*. 6.4.1) and *ikaḥ* is got by the *paribhāṣā, iko guṇavṛddhī* (*PA* 1.1.3); and by *tadantavidhi* means *igantasya*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the final *ik* (= *i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) of an *iganta aṅga* will take *guṇa* when followed by *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas*. (For these terms see *PA* 3.4. 113-117). Thus now we have *bhū+a+ti* = *bho+a +ti* = *bhavati* (*avādeśa* by No. 22). Similarly *bhavataḥ.*

358. For 3rd plr. the position is *bhū+a+jhi*. Now the present *sūtra* lays down that the letter *jh* forming part of a *pratyaya* will be substituted by *ant*. (The word *pratyayasya* is got by *anuvṛtti*). Thus now we have *bhū+a+anti* = *bhava+anti* = *bhavanti*. (No. 257, *ato guṇe*). The forms of the *madhyama-puruṣa*, are *bhavasi, bhavathaḥ, bhavatha*. These are to be similarly explained.

For *uttama ekavacana* the position is *bhū+a+mi*.

359. In this *sūtra* the word *sārvadhātuka* is got by *anuvṛtti; aṅgasya* is got by *adhikāra;* and *ataḥ* means *adantasya*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the final *a* of a base (*aṅga*) ending in *a* is lengthened when followed by a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* beginning with a letter from the *pratyāhāra yañ*. Hence we get *bhava+mi* = *bhavāmi*. Similarly *bhavāvaḥ* and *bhavāmaḥ*. Thus now we have got all the nine paradigms of *laṭ* (the present tense) of √*bhū*.

360. The next *lakāra* is *liṭ;* and this *sūtra* lays down that *liṭ* is used to signify a *parokṣa* event. In this *sūtra* the word *anadyatana* is got by *anuvṛtti* and *bhūta* by *adhikāra*. In this *lakāra* also *tip* etc. will be substituted for *l* (No. 344). But since *liṭ* is not *sārvadhātuka* (*PA* 3.4.115), the *vikaraṇa* (i.e. *śap* = *a*, No. 356) will not be affixed. Thus for 3rd sg. the position is *bhū+ti*.

361. In this *sūtra liṭaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down *ṇal* etc. as the substitutes for *tip* etc. substituted for *liṭ*. These substitutes have some mute letters appended to them, the purposes of which will be made clear below. The substitutes thus are: *ṇal* (= *a*), *atus, us, thal, athus, a. ṇal, va, ma*. Thus by substituting *ṇal* for *ti* we have *bhū+a*.

362. In this *sūtra* the word *aci* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that √*bhū* will have the *āgama vuk* (= *v*), when followed by *luṅ* and *liṭ*. Accordingly now we shall have *bhūv+a*.

363. In this *sūtra* the words *ekāco dve prathamsya* are got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 6.1.1); and *dhātoḥ*, being *avayava ṣaṣṭhī*, means *dhātvavayavasya*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a monosyllabic initial portion of a root, other than *abhyāsa*, is reduplicated. On the basis of the *adhikāra*, *ajāder dvitīyasya* (*PA*. 6.1.2), this *sūtra* further lays down that in the case of a root beginning with a vowel, the second monosyllabic portion thereof is to be reduplicated. At present we are concerned only with the former; and accordingly we get *bhūv bhūv+a*.

364. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *abhyāsa* for the first portion of this reduplication. Thus in the present case the first *bhūv* is *abhyāsa*.

365. In this *sūtra* the word *abhyāsasya* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the first *hal* of the *abhyāsa* is retained. This means that the other *hals* that may exist in the *abhyāsa* are elided. For such is the implication of √*śiṣ* (read: *śiṣadhātur itaranivṛttipūrvakāvasthitau*, *BM*.). Thus now we get *bhūbhūv+a*.

366. In this *sūtra* the word *abhyāsasya* is got by *anuvṛtti* and *acaḥ* is got on the basis of the *paribhāṣā*, *acaś ca*, *PA* 1.2.28. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the vowel of the *abhyāsa* is shortened. Hence we get *bhubhūv+a*.

367. Now here is a *sūtra* which lays down that the vowel of the *abhyāsa* of *bhū* is substituted by *a* when followed by *liṭ*

endings. In this *sūtra* the words *abhyāsasya* and *liṭi* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Hence now we get *bhabhūv a*.

368. In this *sūtra* the word *jhalām* is got by *anuvṛtti* and the word *jaśaḥ* is got by the force of *ca*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that in the *abhyāsa* the *jhal* letters are substituted by *car* letters and *jaś* letters. Here the question arises as to which *jhal* letters are substituted by *car*, and which by *jaś*. This question is to be answered on the basis of No. 18; and our author has stated that *jaś* will be substituted for *jhaṣ*; and *car* will be substituted for *khay*. Thus in the case under consideration *bh* will be substituted by *b* and thus we shall have *babhūva*. The forms *babhūvatuḥ* and *babhūvuḥ* (3rd du. and plr.) are to be similarly explained.

369. Now before we take up the 2nd sg. of √*bhū* (pf), we have to note that *liṭ* is designated *ārdhadhātuka*. This we have indirectly noticed under No. 360. Here we have to note this designation because it induces certain modifications in the base to which such *pratyayas* are appended.

370. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama iṭ* for the *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* beginning with a letter from the *pratyāhāra val*. Now in the present case the *pratyaya tha* (substituted for *sip* by No. 361), being *ārdhadhātuka* (No. 369) *valādi*, will take *iḍāgama* and then we get the form *babhūvitha* (all other operations taking place as in other forms explained above). The other forms, in which *iḍāgama* occurs, are *babhūviva* and *babhuvima* (1st du. and plr.). The remaining forms also can be easily explained on the same lines as above.

371. This now brings us to the third *lakāra, luṭ,* which, we are told, is to be used to convey a matter which is *anadyatana bhaviṣyat*. In this *sūtra, dhātoḥ* is got by *adhikāra*, while *bhaviṣyat* is got by *anuvṛtti*.

372. This *sūtra* lays down that *sya* and *tāsi* (= *tās*) are to be appended to a root when it is followed by *lṛ* and *luṭ*. The word *dhātoḥ* is got here by *adhikāra*. It is further to be observed that *lṛ* in this *sūtra* is intended to stand for two *lakāras*, namely *lṛṭ* and *lṛṅ*. Furthermore, this *sūtra* constitutes an *apavāda* to Nos. 356 etc. laying down the *vikaraṇa śap*. Hence we have *bhū+tās+ti*.

373. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *ārdhadhātuka* for *śeṣa* (i.e. all the other *pratyayas,* except *tiṅ* and *śit* noticed in No. 355). The only point to be noted here is the *adhikāra, dhātoḥ* (see No. 355 above). The *pratyayas, sya* and *tāsi,* can come under this term *śeṣa* and hence are *ārdhadhātuka*. This makes them amenable to No. 370 and hence they take the *āgama iṭ*. (of course, as their *ādya avayaya* by No. 75). Hence now we get *bhū+itās+ti*.

374. This *sūtra* lays down that the endings of the first person of *luṭ* shall be substituted by *ḍā, rau* and *ras*. Here it has to be noted that this holds good in the case of both *parasmp* and *ātmp* endings. As for the *ādeśa ḍā* it should be observed that it is an *ādeśa* and cannot be called a *pratyaya* unless it is substituted for *tip;* and since it is not a *pratyaya, ḍ* cannot be considered *it* (mute) acc. to No. 107. Thus at this stage it is *anekāl* and hence *sarvādeśa*. After substitution, however, it becomes a *pratyaya* by *sthānivadbhāva* (No. 122); and then *ḍ* in it becomes *it* (mute) by

No. 107. Thus we have now *bhū itās ā* = *bhavitās ā* (by *guṇa* and *avādeśa* acc. Nos. 357 and 22).

375. This *sūtra* lays down the elision of *ṭi* of *bha* before a *ḍit pratyaya*. In this *sūtra* the word *bhasya* is got by *adhikāra* and the words *lopaḥ* and *ḍiti* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus strictly speaking this rule can apply in the case of a base that can be designated *bha* (acc. to No. 144). But the *pratyaya* *ḍā* cannot give rise to that designation for its base, because it has been laid down in *PA* 2.4.85; while *bha saṁjñā* applies only to those bases that are followed by *pratyayas* laid down between *PA* 4.1.2 and *PA* 5.4.151. Hence our author has remarked that in this particular case, the base will drop its *ṭi*, even though it is not *bha*. Hence we get *bhavit ā* = *bhavitā*.

376. In this *sūtra* the word *si* (= *sakārādu pratyaye pare* by *tadādividhi*) is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus the *sūtra* lays down the elision of (the final letter of) *tās* and *asti* (=$\sqrt{}$*as*) when followed by a *pratyaya* beginning with *s*. For illustration see the next *sūtra*.

377. In this *sūtra* all the words of No. 376 are to be read by *anuvṛtti* and *ri* is to be understood to mean *rādau pratyaye pare* (like *si* in the previous *sūtra*). Thus before a *pratyaya* beginning wth *r*, the final *s* of *tās* and $\sqrt{}$*as* is elided. Thus we have the following forms: *bhavitās+rau* = *bhavitārau*. Similarly *bhavitāraḥ*; and *bhavitās+si* = *bhavitāsi*. In the other forms *bhavitāsthaḥ* etc. the operations can be similarly explained.

378. Now we come to *lṛṭ* for which *sya* has been already laid down (No. 372). In this *sūtra*, *dhātoḥ* comes by *adhikāra* and *bhaviṣyati* is got by *anuvṛtti*. The word *śeṣa* in this *sūtra*

means other than what is mentioned in the preceding *sūtra* (i.e. in *PA* 3.3.12). There we find a mention of *kriyārthāyāṁ kriyāyām* and hence *śeṣa* signifies *kriyārthāyāṁ kriyāyām asatyām*. But by the force of *ca* we also get *kriyārthāyām kriyāyām satyām*. Thus practically this *sūtra* lays down that *lṛṭ* is used after a root which is intended to convey an act of the future, when the act may or may not be *kriyārtha*.

Thus we get: *bhū+sya+ti* = *bhū+i+sya+ti* (No. 370) = *bhū+iṣya+ti* = (No. 128) = *bhaviṣyati* (No. 357 and 22). Similarly all the other forms The forms *bhaviṣyanti* and *bhaviṣyāmi* are to be explained on the analogy of *bhavanti* and *bhavāmi*.

379. Now we come to *loṭ*, the sixth *lakāra;* for, the fifth *lakāra* (namely *leṭ*) is found in the Veda only (*pañcamo lakāras' chandomātragocaraḥ*, Bh.). In this *sūtra*, the word *dhātoḥ* is got by *adhikāra* and *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭa-sampraśnaprārthaneṣu* is got by *anuvṛtti* (from *PA* 3.3.161, No. 393 below).

380. This *sūtra* lays down the additional case, namely, a root intended to convey *āśiṣ*, to which *liṅ* and *loṭ* endings are appended.

381. In this *sūtra* the word *loṭaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*, and *eḥ* (gen. sg. of *i*) is *sthānaṣaṣṭhī*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *i* of *loṭ* is substituted by *u*. Hence we get *bhū a ti* = *bhavatu*.

382. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa tātaṅ* (= *tāt*) for *tu* and *hi* (of *loṭ* 2nd and 3rd sg.) optionally, when *āśiṣ* is to be conveyed. Here we find that the *ādeśa* is *anekāl* and hence would be *sarvādeśa* (No. 42). But it is also *ṅit* and hence

would be *antādeśa*. Hence the question is how are we to take this *ādeśa*? The answer is to be based on *PA* 1.4.2 (No. 94) and hence our author declares that this is to be understood as *sarvādeśa* owing to *paratva* (of the rule prescribing it over the rule prescribing *antādeśatva*). Thus now we have *bhū*+*a*+*tāt* = *bhavatāt* (or *bhavatu* also when *tāt* is not substituted).

383. In this *sūtra laṅvat* means *laṅaḥ iva*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that substitutions in the case of *loṭ* will be as in the case of *laṅ*. These are *tāmādayaḥ* and *salopa*.

384. In this *sūtra ṅitaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśas tām, tam, ta* and *am* respectively for *tas, thas, tha* and *mip*. Thus we get *bhū*+*a*+*tas* = *bhavatām*. The form *bhavantu* can be easily explained (see No. 381). (*salopa* is laid down in *PA* 3.4.99, No. 389).

385. In this *sūtra loṭaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitute *hi* for *si* and declares it to be *apit;* for, otherwise it would be *pit* like its *sthānin* (by No. 122). Thus we have *bhū*+*a*+*si* = *bhava hi.*

386. In this *sūtra,* the word *luk* is got by *anuvṛtti;* and *ataḥ* is abl. of *at* (= *adanta aṅga* by *tadantavidhi* and *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *hi* after a base (*aṅga*) ending in *a*. Thus we have *bhava*+*hi* = *bhava.* Here optionally *tāt* also can be substituted for *hi* (No. 382, which is *para* to this *sūtra*) and thus we can have *bhavatāt*. The forms *bhavatam* and *bhavata* can be easily explained.

387. Here also *loṭaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* lays down *ni* for *mi* in *loṭ*. Thus the position would be: *bhū*+*a*+*ni* = *bhava*+*ni.*

388. Here also there is *anuvṛtti* of *loṭaḥ*. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama āṭ* (= *ā*) which is to be considered *pit*. Thus we get *bhava+ni* = *bhava+āni* = *bhavāni*. Here one may think of No. 381 and change the final *i* to *u*. But our author tells us that this cannot and should not be done. For *hi* and *ni* have been specifically laid down as such. If *utva* was necessary or admissible, P would rather have laid them down as *hu* and *nu* for *lāghava*.

389. In this *sūtra*, the words *sa uttamasya* are got by *anuvṛtti*, and it by *tadantavidhi* means *sakārāntasya uttamasya*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of the final *s* of the first personal endings of the *ṅit lakāras*. This is the *salopa* mentioned under No. 383 above. Hence we get *bhavāva* and *bhavāma*.

390. Now we come to the seventh *lakāra laṅ* (the first among the *ṅit lakāras*). This *lakāra* is laid down in this *sūtra* in the sense of a past action not pertaining to this day. This *sūtra* is to be explained like Nos. 343, 360, 371, 378, etc.

391. In this *sūtra*, the word *aṅgasya* comes by *adhikāra*. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama aṭ* (= *a*) for the *aṅga* when followed by *luṅ, laṅ,* and *lṛṅ*. This *aṭ* is declared to be *udātta*. Thus now the position is *abhū+a+ti* = *abhava ti*.

392. In this *sūtra lasya* comes by *adhikāra* (*PA* 3.4.77); and *ṅitaḥ* (3.4.99), *lopaḥ* and *parasmaipadasya* are got by *anuvṛtti*, and *itaḥ* by *tadantavidhi* stands for *ikārāntasya*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of the final *i* of the *ikārānta* substitutes of the *parasmp. la* in the case of *ṅit lakāras*. Hence now we get *abhavat*. The other forms of *laṅ* (= impf.) namely *abhavatām*, *abhavan*, etc. can be now easily explained.

393. Now we come to *liṅ* which is laid down by this *sūtra* for roots intended to convey several senses such as *vidhi, nimantraṇa*, etc. The words *vidhi, nimantraṇa*, etc. have been explained by Bh. in *SK*. (Read: *vidhiḥ preraṇam/ nimantraṇaṁ niyogakaraṇam/ āmantraṇaṁ kāmacārānujñā/ adhīṣṭaḥ satkārapūrvako vyāpāraḥ/*. For the other two words read: *idaṁ kāryaṁ na veti vicārya nirdhāraṇaṁ sampraśnaḥ/ prārthanā yācñā/ BM.*).

394. The word *liṅaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti;* and *loc.* is in the sense of gen. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *parasmp liṅ* endings will have the *āgama yāsuṭ* (= *yās*) and it will be *udātta* and *ṅit*. Thus we have the position: *bhū+a+ti* = *bhava+yās+ti* = *bhava+yās+t* (No. 392).

395. The word *sārvadhātuka* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down the elision of the non-final *s* of the *sārvadhātuka liṅ*. Thus now we get *bhava+yā+t*.

396. In this *sūtra yā* is *luptaṣaṣṭhīka* word, and *ataḥ* is abl. sg. of *at;* and *sārvadhātuka* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitute *iy* for *yā* of a *sārvadhātuka la* ending, coming after a base ending in *a*. Thus now the position would be *bhava+iy+t* = *bhavey t* (by *guṇa*).

397. This *sūtra* lays down the elision of *v* and *y* when followed by a letter of the *pratyāhāra val*. Thus ultimately we get *bhavet* (by elision of *y*). The form *bhavetām* can be similarly explained.

398. In this *sūtra* the word *liṅaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* lays down the substitute *jus* (= *us*) (*sarvādeśa* because it is *anekāl*) for *jhi* in the case of *liṅ*. All the other operations

are as in *bhavet*. So we get the form *bhaveyuḥ*. The other forms such as *bhaveḥ, bhavetam, bhaveta*, etc. are to be similarly explained.

399. This *sūtra* lays down that the endings of the *liṅ* used in the sense of *āśiṣ* will have the designation *ārdhadhātuka*. Here *liṅ* is *luptaṣaṣṭhīka* and means *liṅaḥ* (*liṅ*, which is got by *anuvṛtti*).

400. This *sūtra* is to be interpreted in the light of No. 394 above, which immediately precedes it in *PA*. It thus lays down that the *āgama yāsuṭ* in the case of *āśiṣi liṅ* is to be considered *kit*. Thus the position for 3rd sg. is *bhū+yās+t* = *bhūyās+t* (*guṇa* prevented by *kittva*) = *bhūyāt* (*PA* 5.2.29).

401. In this *sūtra kṅiti* is *nimittasaptamī;* the words *iko guṇavṛddhī* and also *na* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the operations *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* will not take place when the factor indicating them is *kit, git* or *ṅit*. In the present case the *nimitta* for *guṇa* is *yāsuṭ* (No. 394). but it is *kit* (No. 400) and the *guṇa* is prevented. Thus we have *bhūyāt*. The other forms *bhūyāstām* etc. can be easily explained as before.

402. Now we come to *luṅ* which is laid down by this *sūtra* when the root is intended to convey a matter of the past. The words *dhātoḥ* and *bhūte* are got by *adhikāra*.

403. This *sūtra* lays down the *pratyaya cli* for a *dhātu* when followed by *luṅ*. This *cli* is an *apavāda* to *vikaraṇas* like *śap* etc. Thus the position for *luṅ* 3rd sg. is: *bhū+cli+luṅ*.

404. This *sūtra* lays down the substitute *sic* (= *s*) for *cli* (of *luṅ*). Thus we get *bhū+s+luṅ*.

405. In this *sūtra* the word *luk* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *sic* in the case of the roots *gā, sthā, ghu, pā* and *bhū* when followed by *parasmp.* endings. It is to be noted here that *gāti* is a *śtipā nirdeśaḥ* and means √*gā*. The term *ghu* is explained in *PA* 1.1.20 *dādhāghvadāp*. √*bhū* is included in this *sūtra;* and hence after it *sic* will be dropped. Thus we get *bhū+ti* = *abhūt* (*aḍāgama* by No. 391 and elision of *i* by No. 392).

406. The words *sārvadhātuke guṇo na* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that there will be no *guṇa* in the case of √*bhū* and √*sū* when followed by *sārvadhātuka tiṅ* endings. Hence No. 357 does not apply here; and finally we get the form *abhūt*. The other forms of *luṅ* of √*bhū* (such as *abhūtām, abhūvan, abhūḥ, abhūtam* etc.) can be similarly explained.

407. Now we come to *lṛṅ* (conditional). This *sūtra* lays down that *lṛṅ* shall be used after a root that is intended to convey a matter of the future under conditions calling for the use of *lṛṅ*. when it is implied that the event or act has not been effected. The *liṅ-nimittas* are *hetuhetumadbhāva, icchārthatva*, etc. which have been brought together by Bh. in the section named *lakārārthaprakaraṇa* of his *SK*. The word *bhaviṣyati* (*arthe*) is got by *anuvṛtti* and *dhātoḥ* by *adhikāra*. The word *atipatti* signifies *aniṣpatti*. The force of the loc. here is brought out by the word *gamyamānāyām*. Thus for *lṛṅ* 3rd sg. the position would be: *abhū+sya+lṛ=abhū+iṣya+ti* = *abhaviṣyat*. All the other forms of the cond. of √*bhū* (such as *abhaviṣyatām, abhaviṣyan*, etc.) can be similarly explained.

The sentence *suvṛṣṭiś ced abhaviṣyat* etc. illustrates the use of *lṛṅ*. It may be observed here that the relation between

the two parts of this statement is that of cause and effect (*hetuhetumadbhāva*) and that non-occurrence of the event in the latter part in the future is implied. Hence the use of this *lakāra*.

Thus far we have studied the conjugation of √*bhū* in all the *lakāras*. Now we have to study that of √*at* (to wander). The pr. 3rd sg. (i.e. *laṭ*) would be *at+a+ti* = *atati*. All the other forms of √*at* in *laṭ* can be obtained on the analogy of √*bhū*.

408. In this *sūtra* the words *abhyāsasya* and *dīrghaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *dīrghatva* of the initial *a* (of course, before *liṭ*). Thus we have *at+liṭ* = *atat+a* = *āt+a* = *āta*. Similarly are to be explained the forms *ātatuḥ, ātuḥ, ātitha,* etc. (of pf.).

The 3rd sg. *luṭ* will be *at+i+tās+ā* = *atitā*. Similarly may be explained the remaining forms. The forms of *lṛṭ* and *loṭ* 3rd sg. are *atiṣyati* and *atatu*. These and the remaining forms of these *lakāras* are to be explained like those of √*bhū*.

409. Now we come to *laṅ* (of √*at*). This *sūtra* (which comes immediately after No. 391 in *PA*) lays down that roots beginning with a vowel will take the augment *āṭ* (= *ā*) instead of *aṭ* (*a*). Hence we have *ā+at+a+ti* = *āta+t* = *ātat* (like *abhavat*). The remaining *laṅ* forms can be obtained on the analogy of √*bhū*.

The forms of *liṅ* (i.e. *vidhi liṅ*) *atet,* etc. are to be explained like those of √*bhū* (*bhavet,* etc.). The 3rd sg. *liṅ* (i.e. *āśiṣi*) of √*at* is *atyāt* (*yāsuṭ āgama* No. 394 and *salopa* by *PA*.8.2.29); *atyāstām* is 3rd du. (like *bhūyāstām*). Similarly may be obtained the other forms.

Now for *luṅ* 3rd sg. the position is: *ā atis ti* = *ātis t* (No. 392).

410. In this *sūtra* the words *halaḥ* and *īṭ* are got by *anuvṛtti*, and *astisicaḥ* is abl. sg. of *astisic*. (for detailed explanation of this word see *BM*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a single consonant coming after *sic* (= *s* of *luṅ*) and of √*as*, actually existing, will have the augment *īṭ* (= *ī*). Hence we have *atis*+*ī*+*t*.

411. In this *sūtra iṭaḥ* is abl. of *iṭ* and means *iṭaḥ parasya;* while the words *sasya* and *lopaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *s* coming after *i* when it is followed by *ī*. Thus now we get *āti*+*īt* = *ātīt*.

412. But the elision of *s* (laid down by *PA* 8.2.28, No. 411) is *asiddha* (not accomplished) for the operation of *savarṇa dīrgha ekādeśa* (laid down by *PA* 6.1.10, No. 40) according to *PA* 8.2.1 (No. 31); and hence the form cannot be obtained. This objection is warded off by this *vārttika* which lays down that the elision of *s* is to be considered as *siddha* for the purposes of *ekādeśa*. Hence now we can have the form *ātīt*. The 3rd du. is *ātiṣṭām*. This and the other forms of *luṅ* of √*at* can be explained on the analogy of those of √*bhū*. It is to be noted that here the *sic* is not elided as it is after √*bhū* by No. 405.

413. In this *sūtra* the words *jher jus* and *ṅitaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *jhi* of a *ṅit lakāra* coming after *sic*, *abhyasta* and √*vid* is substituted by *us*. For *abhyasta* see *PA* 6.1.5, No. 482 below. Hence we get the form *ātiṣuḥ*. The other forms of (*āśiṣi*) *liṅ* are *ātīḥ*, *ātiṣṭam*, *ātiṣṭa*, etc. which can be similarly explained. The forms

of *lṛṅ* such as *ātiṣyat* can also be explained on the analogy of *abhaviṣyat* etc. of √*bhū*.

The *laṭ* forms of √*gad* are obtained like those of √*bhū* or √*at*: *gadati* etc.

414. For *liṭ* 3rd sg. the position is *gadgad+a* = *gagad a*. Now in the present *sūtra, abhyāsasya* is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down the substitution of *cu* for *ku* and *h*. Here it can be easily understood that letters of the *cavarga* are to be substituted for letters of the *kavarga* respectively on the basis of *bāhyaprayatnasāmya*. The substitute for *h*, however, is also to be determined on the basis of *bāhya prayatna* and it is *jh*. Thus in the present case we get *jagad+a*.

415. In this *sūtra* the words *ñiti, ṇiti* and *vṛddhiḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the penultimate *a* of a base undergoes *vṛddhi* when followed by a *ñit* or *ṇit pratyaya*. In the present case *a* (= *ṇal*) is *ṇit* and hence we get *jagāda*. The other forms such as *jagadatuḥ, jagaduḥ, jagaditha,* etc. can be easily explained on similar lines.

416. Now for *liṭ* 1st sg. the position is: *jagad+a* (as in 3rd sg.). Now in this *sūtra* the word *ṇit* is got by *anuvṛtti* and thus the *sūtra* lays down that the *pratyaya ṇal* (substituted for *mi* by No. 361) is to be considered as being *ṇit* only optionally. We have already seen the implication of mute *ṇ* (in No. 415). In the present case it will take place optionally and hence we get the forms *jagāda* or *jagada*. The other forms of *liṭ, jagadiva* and *jagadima* can be easily explained.

There is nothing particular to be noticed in the *luṭ, lṛṭ, loṭ, laṅ, liṅ* (*vidhi*), and *liṅ* (*āśiṣi*) of √*gad;* and the 3rd sg. forms are *gaditā, gadiṣyati, gadatu, agadat, gadet* and *gadyāt*

respectively. For *luṅ* and *lṛṅ* we have to turn to the next *sūtra*.

417. In this *sūtra*, the whole of *PA* 7.2.1 (No. 442 below) and the words *iṭi* and *vibhāṣā* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *vṛddhi* of the *a* of a base beginning with a consonant optionally when followed by *sic*. in the *parasmp*. Thus in the present case (i.e. *luṅ* of √*gad*) we get *agad*+*īt* = *agādīt*. For detailed explanation of all the other operations see Nos. 400-11 above. The *lṛṅ* forms would be *agadiṣyat* etc. which can be easily explained like *abhaviṣyat* above.

418. For conjugating √*gup* we have to turn to the present *sūtra*. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *āya*. The fact, that no specific mention is made of the *artha* in which this *pratyaya* is to be appended, implies that it is *svārtha*. Thus we get *gup*+*āya*.

419. In this *sūtra* P lays down that bases with *san* etc. applied to them will be designated *dhātu*. The *pratyayas* covered by the term *sanādi* are put together in the following couplet:

sankyackāmyackyaṅkyaṣāthācārakvibṇijyaṅau tathā/
yagāya īyaṅ ṇiṅ ceti dvādaśāmī sanādayaḥ//

The *pratyayas*, 12 in number, have been laid down by P in *PA* 3.1.5 upto *PA* 3.1.10, *kamer ṇiṅ*. Now *gupa*+*āya* becomes *dhātu* by this rule; and hence the *lakāras* can be appended to it.

420–422. This and the next two *sūtras* define the terms *laghu* and *guru*. A short letter i.e. a syllable having a short vowel is designated *hrasva*. But if such a syllable is followed

by a *saṁyoga* (conjunct consonant, No. 14), it is designated *guru*. Similarly a long syllable (i.e. a syllable having a long vowel) is designated *guru*.

423. In this *sūtra* the word *aṅgasya* is got by *adhikāra; ikaḥ* comes by *PA* 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛdhī;* and *guṇah* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *ik* of a base ending in *puk* (=*p*) and of a base having a short penultimate will take *guṇa* when followed by *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadātuka pratyayas* (see No. 357). Hence we get *gopāyati*. Forms of all *sārvadhātuka lakāras* are to be similarly formed.

424. This *sūtra* lays down that the *pratyayas āya* etc. are to be appended to the roots *gup* etc. (cf No. 418) only optionally when *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* follow. The *āyādi pratyayas* are *āya, iyaṅ* and *ṇiṅ* (laid down in *PA* 3.1.28-30)

425. *PA* 3.1.35 has laid down that *ām* will be appended to √*kās* and roots formed by appending *āyādi pratyayas* in *liṭ*. The *vārttikakāra,* however, has amended this rule by declaring that *ām* is to be appended to √*kās* and to *anekāc* roots. Here the fact, that *ām* is enjoined as *pratyaya*, shows that *m* (in *ām*) is not mute. Thus now we get *gopāya*+*ām*.

426. In this *sūtra* the word *ārdhadhātuke* is got by *adhikāra* and is to be taken twice. Once it is to be construed with *upadeśe* (=*upadeśakāle*) and secondly it is to be construed as *nimitta-saptamī* with reference to the *lopa* of *a*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of the final *a* of roots which are *adanta* at the time of *ārdhadhātukopadeśa,* when it is followed by the *ārdhadhātuka* endings. Accordingly we have now *gopāyām*.

427. In this *sūtra* the words *leḥ* and *luk* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and thus it lays down the elision of *li* coming after *ām*. Accordingly *gopāyām+li* = *gopāyām*.

428. In this *sūtra* the word *āmaḥ* (=*āmantāt* by *tadanta-vidhi*) is got by *anuvṛtti,* and *liṭi* is to be understood to mean *liṭi pare* (*yaḥ kṛñ*). Furthermore *kṛñ* is here to be understood as a *pratyāhāra* based on *PA* 5.4.50 upto *PA* 5.4.58, signifying the roots *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as*. Now since these roots are *liṭpara,* therefore, they will undergo *dvitva* (or *abhyāsa*) by No. 363, and other operations also as noted above while discussing *liṭ* formations of √*bhū*.

429. In this *sūtra* the word *abhyāsasya* is got by *anuvṛtti* and *aṅgasya* by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *ṛ* of the *abhysa* is substituted by *a* when followed by a *pratyaya*. Thus we get, *kṛ kṛ+a* = *kakṛ+a* = *cakṛ+a* (No. 414) = *cakāra* (No. 162). Thus now we get the full form *gopāyaṁcakāra*. For 3rd du. the position is *cakṛ+atuḥ* where by No. 16, *ṛ* (of *cakṛ*) should be changed to *r*. But it is prevented by the following *sūtra* as explained below.

430. In this *sūtra* the words *acaḥ ādeśaḥ na* are got by *anuvṛtti* and the word *dvirvacane* has been used in the sense of *dvitvanimitte* (Read: *dvir ucyate yena paranimittena tad dvirvacanaṁ dvitvanimittam iti yāvat, BM.*). It is further to be observed that the word *dvirvacane* is to be taken twice: once to mean *dvitvanimitta* as explained above and again to mean *dvitve kartavye*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a vowel will not take its substitute when it is followed by a vowel causing reduplication and when reduplication is yet to be made. In the present case *dvitva* is already made and hence the

prohibition in this *sūtra* has no effect. The vowel *ṛ* in *cakṛ* will, therefore, take *yaṇādeśa* and we have *cakratuḥ*. Thus the final form of √*gup* will be *gopāyāṁcakratuḥ*. Similarly plr. is *gopāyāṁcakruḥ*.

431. In this *sūtra* the words *dhātoḥ* and *na* are got by *anuvṛtti*. The word *ārdhadhātukasya* is got by implication from the fact that the *āgama iṭ* is possible only in the case of *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* and as such can be negatived in their case only. Thus this *sūtra* prohibits the *āgama iṭ* for *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* in the case of roots which are *upadeśe ekāc* (monosyllabic) and *anudātta*. √*kṛ* satisfies both these conditions and hence will not have the augment *iṭ;* and hence we have the forms *cakartha, cakṛva,* and *cakṛma*. By appending these to *gopāyām* we now get the forms *gopāyaṁ-cakartha* etc. In the 1st sg. (the *pratyaya* being optionally *ṇit*) the final vowel will take *vṛddhi* optionally. Hence the form will be *gopāyāṁcakāra* or *-cakara*. Similarly are to be explained the forms *gopāyāmāsa, -babhūva* etc.

Now by No. 424 the *pratyaya āya* is appended only optionally and we have seen so far the forms that we get by appending it to √*gup*. When, however, it is not appended, the root *gup* is not *anekāc* and hence the *āgama ām* cannot be appended to it (see No. 425). Hence it will have reduplication (No. 363), retain only the first consonant of its *abhyāsa* (No. 365), have *cutva* (No. 414) and *guṇa* of the penultimate short (No. 423), and thus ultimately we shall get the form *jugopa*. Similarly, can be explained the forms *jugupatuḥ, jugupuḥ,* etc.

Here we have to note the *kārikās* which enable us to know which roots are *anudātta*. In one couplet are brought

together roots (ending in vowels) which are not *anudātta* and then we are told that among the *ajanta* roots, all excepting those enumerated in this couplet are *anudātta*. Thus among monosyllabic *ajanta* roots, all except those ending in *ū*, *ṝ* and excepting the roots *yu, ru, kṣṇu, śī, snu, nu, kṣu, śvi, ḍī, śri, vṛṅ* and *vṝñ* are *anudātta*. After this couplet, our author has given us a complete list of *halanta* roots which are *anudātta*. They are 103 in all. He has arranged them alphabetically according to their endings. These lists will be useful in the application of No. 431 which applies to *anudātta* monosyllabic roots only.

432. In this sūtra the word *apit* is got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. By *tadantavidhi, asaṁyogāt* means *asaṁyogāntāt* (*dhātoḥ* or *aṅgāt*). Thus this *sūtra* declares that an apit *liṭ* ending (i.e. a weak pf. termination), coming after (or appended to) a base not ending in a conjunct consonant, should be considered *kit* (i.e. having a mute *k*). Now P has laid down that before a *kit, git*, or *ṅit pratyaya* the base will not undergo *guṇa* operation. Thus pf. 3rd du. of $\sqrt{}$*gup* is = *jugup* + *atus* = *jugupatuḥ* (by *rutva* and *visarga*). Similarly 3rd plr. is *jugupuḥ*.

433. In this *sūtra* the whole of No. 370 is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down that the *āgama iṭ* will be optional in the case of the roots *svṛ, sū* (cl. 4 and cl. 2), *dhū* and all roots having mute *ū* (long) appended to them. Now in the absence of *ām* the position for 2nd sg. of $\sqrt{}$*gup* (this root is *ūdit*) will be : *jugop+tha*. Now by this rule *iḍāgama* will be optional and hence we have the forms *jugopitha* and *jugoptha*.

In *luṭ* the *pratyaya āya* will be optional (No. 424). Thus with *āya* we shall have the form *gopāyitā* (to be explained

like *bhavitā* above). In the absence of *āya*, √*gup* (*gupū*) will have *iḍāgama* optionally and thus we shall have the forms *gopitā* and *goptā*. Thus in all we have three forms. All the other forms of *luṭ* can be similarly obtained. In *lṛṭ* also we shall similarly have three forms: one with *āya* and two without *āya*, namely *gopāyiṣyati gopiṣyati*, and *gopsyati*.

In *loṭ*, *laṅ* and (*vidhi*) *liṅ*, the *āya āgama* is obligatory (No. 418); and thus we shall have the forms *gopāyatu*, *agopāyat*, and *gopāyet*. In (*āśīr*) *liṅ*, *āya āgama* will be optional (No. 424); and we shall have the forms *gopayyāt* and *gupyāt*. Similarly, for *luṅ* also the *āya āgama* will be optional, and with the *āgama* the form will be *agopāyīt* (like *agādīt* explained under No. 417). But when *āya* is not appended we have *agopīt*.

434. In this *sūtra aṅgasya* comes by *adhikāra* and No. 442 (whole of it) comes by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the vowel of the *aṅga* of the roots *vad* and *vraj* and of roots ending in a consonant takes *vṛddhi* when followed by *sic* (=*s*) in the *parasmp*. Thus *agup+s+ti* = *agup sīt* (No. 410) = *agaupsīt* (No. 434). Here √*gup* has not taken *iḍāgama* (as per option allowed by No. 431).

435. But when it takes the *āgama iṭ*, this *sūtra* lays down that the vowel of a consonantal base will not take *vṛddhi* when followed by *sic* preceded by *iṭ*. Thus we have *agop i s t* = *agop is īt* (No. 410) = *agop i+īt* (No. 411) = *agopīt*.

436. In this *sūtra* the words *lopaḥ* and *sasya* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *sic* (=*s*) coming after a *jhal* and also followed by a *jhal*. Thus *agup+s+tām* = *agaup+s+tām* (No. 434) = *agauptām* (No. 436). Similarly are to be explained the forms *agauptam*, *agaupta*.

The forms *agaupsuḥ*, *agaupsīḥ*, *agaupsam*, etc. can be easily explained on the lines of *agaupsīt* above.

In *lṛṅ* also √*gup* will take *āya* optionally and hence we shall get *agopāyiṣyat* (with *āya*) and *agopiṣyat* (without *āya*). Again when √*gup* does not take *āya*, it will take *iḍāgama* optionally (No. 433). Now with *iḍāgama* the form would be *agopiṣyat;* while without *iṭ* we shall have *agopsyat*.

Now we come to √*kṣi*. The forms *kṣayati* (*laṭ*), *cikṣāya, ciksiyatuḥ, cikṣiyuḥ* (*liṭ*) can be easily explained.

Now we take up √*tap*. Its pr. 3rd sg. is *tapati;* and pf. 3rd sg is *tatāpa*. The forms of *laṭ* and 3rd sg. of *liṭ* can be easily explained. Now for 3rd du. *liṭ* the position is *tatap+atuḥ*.

437. In this *sūtrc* ɩhe roots are mentioned without any mute letter appended to them. Hence they are to be understood to stand for the corresponding root with one or even two or even different mute letters. Thus *kṛ* here stands for *ḍukṛñ* (√*kṛ* cl. 8) and *kṛñ* (√*kṛ* cl. 5). Similarly *bhṛ* stands for *bhṛñ* (√*bhṛ* cl. 1) and *ḍubhṛñ* (√*bhṛ* cl. 3); and *vṛ* stands for *vṛṅ* (√*vṛ* cl. 9) and *vṛñ* (√*vṛ* cl. 9). The word *liṭi* here is loc. in the sense of gen; and the words *iṭ* and *na* are to be taken by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that only in the case of these roots the augment *iṭ* will not be appended to *liṭ pratyaya*. This means that it will be appended in the case of all other roots even if they are declared to be *aniṭ*. Hence in the case of √*kṣi*, the augment *iṭ* will have to be appended.

438. In this *sūtra tāsvat* means *tāsi iva* (read: *tāsvad iti saptamyantād vatiḥ, BM*). The word *dhātoḥ* is got on the strength of the *thali* (which is impossible in the absence of

a *dhātu*); and *acaḥ* by *tadantavidhi* means *ajantasya* (sc. *dhātoḥ*). The word *nityam* is to be construed with *aniṭaḥ* which is abl. sg. of *aniṭ* (*bahuvrīhi* cpd). Lastly the words *iṭ* and *na* are to be got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* as in the last *sūtra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a root, which ends in a vowel in the *upadeśa* (original enunciation) and is necessarily *aniṭ* before *tāsi* (i.e. *tās* of the First Future), will not take the augment *iṭ* before *thal*. Now √*kṣi* satisfies the conditions of this rule; and hence (against the implication in the preceding rule) will not take the augment *iṭ* before *thal*.

439. In this *sūtra* on the strength of *anuvṛtti* we have to take the whole of previous *sūtra* (but for the word *ac*) together with all the words that were got therein by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a root which contains a (short) *a* in the original enunciation and which is *aniṭ* before *tās* does not have the augment *iṭ* appended to the ending *thal* after it. No. 438 and No. 439 both form exceptions to No. 437. No. 438 prohibities *iḍāgama* in the case of roots ending in a vowel, while No. 439 does the same in the case of roots having the vowel *a* therein.

440. With all the *anuvṛtti* as in the previous *sūtra* this *sūtra* lays down that a root ending in *ṛ* (*ṛtaḥ* = *ṛdantāt dhatoḥ*) which is *aniṭ* before *tās*, does not have the augment *iṭ* appended to the ending *thal* (of Pf. 2nd sg.) according to Bhāradvāja. This in other words means that *thal* will take the augment *iṭ* after roots not ending in *ṛ*. But since this is given as the view of Bhāradvāja, it follows that in the opinion of other authorities *thal* will not take the augment *iṭ* (i.e. there will be prohibition of the augment *iṭ* by No. 438). Thus ultimately we get the option in the case of roots not ending in *ṛ*. Hence we get the

forms *cikṣayitha* (with *iḍāgama*) and *cikṣetha* (without *iḍāgama*) as pf. 2nd sg. of √*kṣi*. The other pf. forms of √*kṣi* can now be easily explained. The forms *kṣetā* (1st fut. 3rd sg.), *kṣeṣyati* (2nd fut.), *kṣayatu* (Impv), *akṣayat* (impf), and *kṣayet* (pot.) also can be easily explained.

The teaching of these four *sūtras* (namely Nos. 437-440) has been concisely put in the following complet:—

ajanto'kāravān vā yas
tāsy aniṭ thali veḍayam/
ṛdanta īdṛṅ nityāniṭ
krâdyanyo liṭi seḍ bhavet//

441. In this *sūtra* the word *aṅgasya* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 6.4.1); *yi* is got by *anuvṛtti* and by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* means *yādau pratyaye pare;* and by the force of the *dīrgha ādeśa* we get *acaḥ* (by *acaś ca, PA* 1.2.28) which by *tadantavidhi* means *ajantasya* (sc. *aṅgasya*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the vowel of a base ending in a vowel is lengthened before a suffix beginning with *y*, provided it is neither a *kṛt* nor a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya*. Thus *kṣi*+*yās*+*ti* = *kṣi*+*yās*+*t* (*itaś ca, PA* 3.4.100) = *kṣī* + *yās* + *t* (No. 441) = *kṣī* + *yā* + *t* (No. 400) = *kṣīyāt*.

442. In this *sūtra* by the force of the word *vṛddhi* we get the word *ikaḥ* (acc. *PA* 1.1.3), which by *tadantavidhi* means *igantasya* (sc. *aṅgasya*, got by *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a base ending in *ik* (*i*. *u*, *ṛ*. *ḷ*) takes *guṇa* substitute for its (final) vowel before *sic* (the sign *s* of the aorist) when *parasmaipada* endings are appended to it. Thus we get *a* + *kṣi* + *s* + *t* (*ti*=*t* by *PA* 3.4.100)= *a* + *kṣai* + *s* + *t* (No. 442) = *akṣai* + *ṣ* + *ī* + *t* (*PA* 7.3.96) = *akṣaiṣīt*. (aor. 3rd sg). cond 3rd sg is *akṣeṣyat*.

443. In this *sūtra ādeśādi* is a *bahuvrīhi* cpd. qualifying *aṅgasya* (got by *adhikāra*). Secondly, the word *liṭi* is *nimittasaptamī* and is to be construed with the word *ādeśe* (in the cpd. *anādeśe*). Finally, *aṅgasya* is *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *a* standing between *eka hal* (two single consonants) belonging to a base (*aṅga*) is changed to *e*, and the *abhyāsa* is elided, provided that the *aṅga* does not begin with an *ādeśa* caused by the following *liṭ*. It may be observed here that *et* and *abhyāsalopa* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. So also the word *kiti*. Thus *tatap atuḥ* = *tep atuḥ* = *tepatuḥ*. Similarly *tepuḥ*.

444. This *sūtra* is to be interpreted along with the preceding one; and thus lays down that the *etva* of *a* and *abhyāsalopa* laid down in the preceding *sūtra* will take place before *seṭ thal* (i.e. *tha* of pf. 2nd sg. with the augment *iṭ* = *i*). This had to be specially laid down because the previous rule holds good only before *kit pratyayas;* but *tha* is not *kit* and hence will not follow that rule. Furthermore, it has to be observed that these operations are laid down before *seṭ thal*. Hence when the *thal* is not *seṭ* (i.e. does not take the *āgama iṭ*) *etva* and *abhyāsalopa* will not occur; and hence the form will be *tataptha*. (The augment *iṭ* is optional by No. 433). The other forms of *liṭ*, namely *tepathuḥ*, *tepa,* etc. can be easily explained. In the 1st person the *pratyaya* is optionally *ṇit* (No. 416) and hence we have *tatāpa* or *tatapa*.

The forms of *luṭ* (*taptā*, etc.), *lṛṭ* (*tapsyati*), *loṭ* (*tapatu*. etc.), *laṅ* (*atapat,* etc.), the two *liṅs* (*tapet* etc. and *tapyāt,* etc.), *luṅ* (*atāpsīt, atāptām,* etc.), and *lṛṅ* (*atapsyat,* etc.) can be easily explained.

Thus ends the treatment of conjugation of *parasmaipada* roots of class I.

For *ātmp.* we start with √*edh.*

445. This *sūtra* lays down that in *ṭit lakāras* the *ātmp la* endings substitute *e* for their *ṭi*. In this *sūtra* the word *lasya* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 3.4.77). Thus *edh+a+te* = *edhate.* Now for 3rd pers. du. of *laṭ* the position is *edh+a+ātām* = *edha āte* (No. 445).

446. In this *sūtra* the word *ṅit* is got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *sārvadhātuka apit la* endings are to be considered *ṅit.*

447. The words *ataḥ* and *iy* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the initial *ā* of *ṅit pratyayas* coming after *a* is substituted by *iy*. Hence we now have *edha+iy+te.* Then by *guṇa* (No. 27) and elision of *y* (No. 397) we get *edhete.* The form of *laṭ* 3rd plr. is *edha anta* = *edha ante=edhante* (No. 257).

448. This *sūtra* lays down the substitute *se* for *thās* (2nd sg.); and the form is *edhase.* In this *sūtra* the word *ṭitaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti* and *lasya* by *adhikāra.* The remaining forms of the *laṭ* of √*edh,* namely *edhethe, edhadhve, edhe, edhāvahe, edhāmahe* can be similarly explained.

449. Now we come to the *liṭ* of √*edh* for which this *sūtra* is required. In this *sūtra* the words *dhātoḥ, ām* and *liṭi* are got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *pratyaya ām* for a root beginning with a long vowel except *ā* (*ijādeḥ gurumataḥ*) when followed by *liṭ.* This, however, does not apply to √*ṛcch.* Thus in the present case we get *edha+ām+liṭ.*

450. In this *sūtra* the word *pūrvavat* is to be got by *anuvṛtti* and the *sūtra* is to be understood as containing two statements, namely *āmpratyayavat* etc. (The whole *sūtra* as it is) and *pūrvavat kṛño'nuprayogasya.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down two things: (1) The *liṭ* forms of √*kṛ* will be used (after these roots) as after the base to which *ām* is appended (i.e. in the *pada* of that base, irrespective of the *kriyāphala* going to the *kartṛ* or to some one else). (2) The forms of √*kṛ* will be used in that very *pada* and not the other. Thus √*edh* is *ātmp.* Hence *ātmp.* forms of √*kṛ* are to be used after *edha+ām;* and thus we get *edhām+cakṛ+te.*

451. This *sūtra* lays down the substitutes *eś* (=*e*) and *irec* (=*ire*) for *ta* and *jha* of the *liṭ* respectively. Hence now we get *edhām+cakṛ+e* = *edhāṁcakre.* The 3rd plr. would be *edhāṁcakrire.* The other forms of *liṭ*, namely *edhāṁcakṛṣe* etc. can be similarly explained.

Now we come to *liṭ* 2nd plr., for which the position is *edhāṁ+cakṛ+dhve.*

452. Now this *sūtra* lays down that *dh* coming after a base ending in *iṇ* (i.e. *i* and *u*) is changed to *ḍh,* if it belongs to *ṣīdhvam, luṅ* or *liṭ*. In this *sūtra, apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* comes by *adhikāra* (*PA* 8.3.55) and *iṇaḥ* means *iṇantasya aṅgasya* (by *tadantavidhi* and *adhikāra*). Hence the form is *edhāṁcakṛḍhve.* The other forms of *liṭ,* namely *edhāṁcakre* etc., can be similarly explained. Similarly we have *edhāmbabhūva* and *edhāmāsa*. The forms of *luṭ* are *edhitā* etc. Here it has to be observed that in the 3rd person of *luṭ* the forms in both the *padas* are alike. The 2nd sg. is *edhitās+se* =*edhitāse* (No. 376). For 2nd plr. the position is *edhitās+dhve* (No. 445).

453. This *sūtra lays* down the elision of *s* when followed by *dh*. In this *sūtra, saḥ* and *lopaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti* and *dhi* by *tadantavidhi* means *dhādau pratyaye*. Hence we get the form *edhitādhve*.

454. Now for *luṭ* 1st sg. the position is *edhitās+e* (No. 445). This *sūtra* lays down that the final *s* of *tās* and √*as* is substituted by *h* when followed by *e*. The words *sa* and *tāsastyor* are got here by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we now have the form *edhitāhe*. The dual and plr. forms, namely *edhitāsvahe* and *edhitāsmahe* can be easily explained.

Similarly all the forms of *lṛṭ*, namely *edhiṣyate*, etc. can be easily explained.

Now we come to *loṭ*, for 3rd sg. of which the position is *edha+ta = edha+te* (No. 445).

455. In this *sūtra* the word *loṭaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that in *loṭ e* is substituted by *ām*. Now in the case under consideration we shall get *edhatām*. In 3rd du. there will be *iy ādeśa* (Nos. 446 and 447) and the form will be *edhetām*. Similarly can be explained the form *edhantām* (3rd plr).

For 2nd sg. the position is *edha+thās=edha+se* (No. 448).

456. The words *loṭaḥ* and *etaḥ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *e* after *s* and *v* of *loṭ* takes the *ādeśas va* and *am* respectively. Thus we have *edhasva*. The du. and plr. forms, *edhethām* and *edhadvam* can now be similarly explained.

For 1st sg. the position is *edha+i = edha+e* (No. 445).

457. In this *sūtra* the words *loṭah* and *uttamasya* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *e* of *loṭ* 1st personal endings by *ai*. Thus we now have *edha+ai* = *edhai*. The other forms *edhāvahai* and *edhāmahai* can be similarly explained.

For *laṅ* the position is *edha+laṅ* = *ā+edha+ta* (No. 409) = *aidha+ta* (No. 203) = *aidhata*. All the other forms of *laṅ*, such as *aidhetām, aidhanta*, etc. can be similarly explained.

In (*vidhi*) *liṅ* 3rd sg. the position is *edha+ta*.

458. This *sūtra* lays down the augment *sīyuṭ* (= *sīy*) for the *liṅ* endings. Now the augment *yāsuṭ* has been laid down specifically for *parasmp liṅ* endings (No. 394). Hence this *sūtra* has to be understood as having reference to *ātmp. liṅ* endings only. Thus now we have *edha+sīy+ta*. Here the *s* of *sīy* is dropped (No. 395), *y* is dropped (No. 397), and we get *edha+īta* = *edheta*. Similarly is to be explained the form *edheyātām*. For 3rd plr. the position is *edha+sīy+jha* = *aidhe+jha*.

459. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa ran* for *jha* in *liṅ*. Thus we get the form *edheran*. The forms of 2nd pers. such as *aidhethāḥ* etc. are to be similarly explained. For 1st sg. the position is *edha+i* = *edh+sīy+i* = *edhey+i*.

460. This *sūtra* lays down the substitute *a* for *i* (substituted for *liṅ* 1st sg.). Hence we get *edheya*. The forms *edhevahi* and *edhemahi* can be easily explained.

Now we come to (*āśiṣi*) *liṅ*, for 3rd sg. of which the position is: *edh+ta* = *edh+sīy+ta* (No. 458) = *edhisīy+ta* (No. 370) = *edhiṣīy+ta* = *edhiṣī ta* (No. 397).

461. Now this *sūtra* lays down the *āgama suṭ* (=*s*) for *t* and *tha* (belonging to the *liṅ* endings). Hence now we get *edhiṣī*+*s*+*ta* = *edhiṣīṣṭa* (*s* and *t* being changed to *ṣ* and *ṭ* respectively). In du. the *y* of *sīy* will not be elided and hence the form will be *edhiṣīyātām*. In 3rd plr. *jh* will be substituted by *ran* (No. 459) and the form will be *edhiṣīran*. In the same manner can be explained the remaining forms of *liṅ* such as *edhiṣīṣṭhāḥ*, etc.

Now we come to *luṅ*, for 3rd sg. of which the position is *aidhiṣ*+*ta* = *aidhiṣṭa*. Similarly *aidhiṣātām*.

462. In this *sūtra* the words *jhaḥ* and *at* are got by *anuvṛtti*. The word *anataḥ* is abl. sg. of *anat* (=*na*+*at*) and means *anāt* (i.e. *anakārāt*) *parasya*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitute *at* for *jh* in *ātmp* after bases not ending in *a*. Thus 3rd plr. would be *aidhiṣ jha*=*aidhiṣata*. The other forms of *luṅ* such as *aidhiṣṭhāḥ*, *aidhiṣāthām*, etc. can be similarly explained. In 2nd plr. we shall get *aidhis*+*dhvam* =*aidhi*+*ḍhvam* (No. 453) = *aidhiḍhvam* (No. 452).

The forms of the *lṛṅ*, such as *aidhiṣyata* etc. can be easily explained.

Now we take √*pac* = to cook. (*ḍupacaṣ* in *DP*).

463. This *sūtra* lays down that the letters *ñi*, *ṭu*, and *ḍu* forming the initial part of a root in *upadeśa* are to be considered *it*. The words *dhātoḥ*, *upadeśe*, and *it* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* (though our author has not taken the word *upadeśe* in his *vṛtti*). The root *pac* is *ubhayapadin* and hence takes both kinds of endings. The forms can be easily explained. Thus *pacati*, *-te* (*laṭ* 3rd sg.); *papāca*, *pecatuḥ*, *pecuḥ* etc.

(*liṭ parasmp*,; *pece* (*liṭ ātmp*); *paktāsi, paktāse* (*luṭ* 2nd sg.); *pakṣyati, -te* (*lṛṭ* 3rd sg.); *pacatu, -tām* (*loṭ* 3rd sg.); *apacat, -ta* (*laṅ* 3rd sg.); *pacet, paceta* (*liṅ* 3rd sg.); *pacyāt, pakṣīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ* 3rd sg.); *apākṣīt, apakta* (*luṅ* 3rd sg.); and *apakṣyat, apakṣyata* (*lṛṅ* 3rd sg.).

Thus ends the treatment of *bhvādi gaṇa*.

Now we take up √*ad* (of class 2).

464. In this *sūtra* the word *luk* comes by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down the elision of the *vikaraṇa śap* after √*ad* and other roots (i.e. of cl. 2). Hence we get the forms of *laṭ* as *atti, attaḥ, adanti*, etc.

465. The words *adaḥ* and *ghasḷ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down the optional substitution of √*ad* by *ghasḷ* (=*ghas*) before *liṭ* endings. Thus *liṭ* 3rd sg. would be *ad+l* = *ghas+a* = *ghasghas+a* = *ghaghas a* = *jhaghas a* = *jaghas a* = *jaghāsa*.

466. In this *sūtra* the word *upadhāyāḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of the penultimate vowel before *kit* and *ṅit pratyayas* beginning with a vowel. This, however, does not occur before the Aorist *vikaraṇa aṅ* (i.e. of *luṅ*). Thus for 3rd du. the position is *jaghas atuḥ* = *jagh+s +atuḥ* = *jak+s+atuḥ*.

467. This *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *ṣ* for *s* of the roots *śās, vas*, and *ghas* when preceded by *iṇ* (i.e. *i, u*) or *ku* (i.e. letters of the *kavarga*). In this *sūtra* the word *saḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*; and *iṇkoḥ* and *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* come by *adhikāra*. Hence now we get *jakṣatuḥ*. Similarly *jakṣuḥ*. The other forms, namely *jaghasitha* etc., can be similar-

ly explained. Now *ghas* is substituted for √*ad* only optionally. We have seen the forms of √*ad* (=*ghas*). The forms of √*ad* itself would be *adad*+*a* =*aad*+*a* = *āda; ādatuḥ; āduḥ;* etc.

468. In this *sūtra* the word *thali* is got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *āgama iṭ* for the ending *thal* (=*tha*) after the roots *ad, ṛ,* and *vye.* This augmentation is obligatory (and not optional, because the word *vibhāṣā* is not *anuvṛtta* here). Hence 2nd sg. of √*ad* is: *ad i*+*tha* = *ād*+*i*+*tha* = *āditha.* The remaining *liṭ* forms of √*ad* can be easily worked out.

The forms *atta* (*luṭ*), *atsyati* (*lṛṭ*), and *attu, attāt, attām, adantu* (*loṭ*) can be easily explained. Now we come to *loṭ* 2nd sg. of √*ad.*

469. In this *sūtra jhalbhyaḥ* = *jhalantebhyaḥ* by *tadantavidhi.* Thus this *sutra* lays down the substitution of *dhi* for *hi* (*loṭ* 2nd sg.) after √*hu* and roots ending in a letter of the *pratyāhāra jhal.* Thus we now get *ad*+*hi* = *addhi.* In the absence of this *sūtra* the substitution of *h* by *dh* would have been optional (by No. 67). All the other forms of *loṭ* can be easilv worked out.

470. In this *sūtra* the words *apṛkta* and *sārvadhātuka* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and *sarveṣām* means according to all authorities. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *apṛkta* (=*ekāl*) *sārvadhātuka* endings coming after √*ad* will take the augment *aṭ.* Thus *liṅ* 3rd sg. would be: *ād*+*t* = *ād*+*a*+*t* = *ādat.* Similarly is formed *ādaḥ* (2nd sg.). All the remaining forms of *liṅ* of √*ad* can be easily worked out. The forms of (*vidhi*) *liṅ* would be *adyāt, adyātām, adyuḥ* etc. These can be easily explained by No. 394 (*yāsuṭ āgama*) and No. 395 (*salopa*).

In (*āśiṣi*) *liṅ* the forms are *adyāt, adyāstām,* etc. which can be explained on the analogy of similar forms of √*bhū* (Nos. 399-401).

Now we come to *luṅ* of √*ad*.

471. This *sūtra* lays down that *ad* will be substituted by *ghasḷ* before *luṅ* and *san,* (the word *adaḥ* being got by *anuvṛtti*). Thus the position for *luṅ* 3rd sg. would be *ad+cli+ti* = *ghas+cli+ti* = *aghas+cli+t.*

472. This *sūtra* lays down that *cli* coming after a root of the *puṣādi,* and *dyutādi gaṇas* and a root having a mute *ḷ* will be substituted by *aṅ* (=*a*).The words *cleḥ* and *aṅ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti.* Secondly, it has to be noted that √*puṣ* for the purposes of this *sūtra* is the root of the *divādi gaṇa.* (see *BM*). Thus we have the forms *aghas+a+t* = *aghasaṭ.* The other forms can be similarly worked out. The forms of *lṛṅ* also, such as *ātsyat,* can be easily explained.

Now we take up √*śī* (cl. 2, *ātmp.*)

473. This *sūtra* lays down that √*śī* will take *guṇa* before *sārvadhātuka pratyayas.* Hence *laṭ* 3rd sg. and *du.* forms will be *śete, śayāte.*

474. For 3rd plr. the position is *śī+ate.* The present *sūtra* lays down that *at* (*ādeśa* for *jh,* by No. 462) will take the augment *ruṭ* (=*r*) after √*śī*. Hence we get *śerate.* Other forms with *ruḍāgama* are *aśerata* and *śeratām.* All the other forms of √*śī* (in other *lakāras*) can be easily worked out. Thus we have *śiśye* etc. (*liṭ*), *śayitā* (*luṭ*), *śeṣyate* (*lṛṭ*), *śetām* etc. (*loṭ*), *aśeta* etc. (*laṅ*), *śayīta* etc. (*vidhi liṅ*), *śayiṣīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ*), *aśayiṣṭa* (*luṅ*) and *aśayiṣyata* (*lṛṅ*).
Now we take up √*duh.*

475. In this *sūtra dhaḥ* is nom. sg. (=*dhakāraḥ*) and *adhaḥ* is gen. sg. of *adhā* and means *dhādhātubhinnasya* (= *na tu dadhāteḥ*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *t* and *th* coming after *jhaṣ* will be substituted by *dh*, except in the case of √*dhā*. Hence we get the forms *dogdhi, dugdhaḥ*, etc. In the forms *dhokṣi, dhugdhve, dhokṣyati, dhugdhvam*, etc. (i.e. before terminations beginning *s* or *dhv*), we have to note that *d* of the root is substituted by *dh* (by No. 236). All the forms of √*duh* in all the *lakāras* upto (*vidhi*) *liṅ* can thus be easily worked out.

For (*āśiṣi*) *liṅ* the position is *duh*+*si*+*ta* = *dhuk*+*ṣī*+*ta* = *dhukṣī*+*s*+*ta* = *dhukṣīṣṭa*.

476. This *sūtra* lays down that *jhalādi liṅ* endings and *sic* (*ātmp*) coming after a consonant preceded by *ik* (= *i, u, ṛ*, or *ḷ*) should be considered *kit*. This prevents *guṇa* in the base. In this *sūtra iko jhal* and *halantāc ca* (*PA* 2.1.9-10) are got by *anuvṛtti*. So is the word *kit*, from *PA* 1.2.5. The word *ikaḥ* is *sāmīpye ṣaṣṭhī*, to be construed with *halaḥ;* and *ātmanepadeṣu* has reference to *sic* only and not to *liṅ*. The other forms of (*āśiṣi*) *liṅ* of √*duh* are to be similarly worked out. For *luṅ* 3rd sg. *parasmp.* of √*duh* the position is *aduh*+ *cli*+*t*.

477. In this *sūtra śalaḥ* by *tadantavidhi* means *śalantāt*, to be construed with *igupadhāt*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *ksa* (=*s*) will be substituted for *cli*, not having the augment *i*, after a base ending in *śal* and having a penultimate *ik* (=*i, u, ṛ*, or *ḷ*). Hence we get *adhukṣat*.

478. This *sūtra* lays down the optional elision of *ksa* when followed by dental *taṅ ātmp* in the case of the roots *duh*,

dih, lih and *guh*. Thus we have *aduh+sa+ta* = *adhukṣata* or *aduh+ta* = *aduh+dha* = *adugdha*.

479. This *sūtra* lays down the elision of *ksa* before *taṅ* beginning with a vowel. Here it has to be observed that by No. 20 the final *a* (of *ksa*) alone is elided. Thus now we have *aduh+sa+ata* = *adhuk+ṣ+ata* = *adhukṣata*. Similarly are to be explained all the forms of *luṅ* with vowel terminations such as *adhukṣātām, adhukṣāthām,* etc. Before consonantal endings the *sa* will be elided optionally (No. 478) and we shall have double forms, such as *adhukṣathāḥ* or *adugdhāḥ*. The other forms can thus be easily explained. The forms of *lṛṅ* also, such as *adhokṣyat, adhokṣyata* (3rd sg. *parasmp.* and *ātmp.*) can be easily worked out.

Thus ends the treatment of *adādi gaṇa*.

For conjugation of cl. 3, we take √*hu*.

480. This *sūtra* lays down the substitute *ślu* for *śap* after roots of the third conjugation (*juhotyādi gaṇa*). The word *śapaḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we get *hu+a+ti* = *hu+ti* (for *laṭ* 3rd sg.).

481. In this *sūtra* the words *dhātoḥ* and *dve* are got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* lays down the reduplication of the root before *ślu*. Thus we now get *huhu+ti* = *juhu+ti* (No. 414) = *juhoti*. The 3rd du. form *juhutaḥ* can be easily explained.

Now for 3rd plr. the position is *juhu+jha*.

482. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *abhyasta* for the reduplicated base (as laid down in *PA* 6.1.6).

483. This *sūtra* lays down the *ādeśa at* for *jh* coming after *abhyasta* (as defined above). The word *jhaḥ* is got here by *anuvṛtti*. Thus we now have *juhu+ati*.

484. In this *sūtra śnu* means *śnupratyayānta;* and the words *oḥ, yaṇ aci* and *anekāco'saṁyogapūrvasya* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the vowel *u* not preceded by a conjunct consonant belonging to an *anekāc* base of √*hu* and roots ending in *śnu* (i.e. roots of cl. 5) is substituted by *yaṇ* (= *v*) when followed by a *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* beginning with a vowel. In the present case, therefore, the form will be *juhvati*. It may be observed here that in the absence of this rule *u* would have had the *uvaṅ ādeśa* by No. 173

485. Now we come to *liṭ*. The present *sūtra* lays down that the roots *bhī, hrī, bhṛ* and *hu* will take the *pratyaya ām* in *liṭ* and will undergo operations as before *ślu*. In this *sūtra liṭi, ām* and *vā* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus for *liṭ* 3rd sg. the position would be: *juhu+ām cakāra* (*āsa, babhūva*) = *juhavāṁcakāra* (*-āsa, - babhūva*); or *juhu+a* = *juhāva* (*vṛddhi* because the *a* is *ṇit*). The *liṭ* will have double forms all through and they can be similarly worked out. The other forms, namely *hotā* (*luṭ*), *hoṣyati* (*lṛṭ*), *juhotu, juhutāt, juhutām* etc. (*loṭ*), *ajuhot, ajuhutām* (*laṅ* 3rd sg. and du.) can be easily explained.

For *laṅ* 3rd plr. the position is: *ajuhu+jhi* = *ajuhu+jus* (No. 398).

486. This *sūtra* lays down that a base (*aṅga*) ending in *ik* will take *guṇa* before *jus* (*ādeśa* for *jhi*). Hence we get *ajuhavuḥ*. In this *sūtra* the word *guṇaḥ* comes by *anuvṛtti*. Then *ikaḥ* is got by the *paribhāṣā sūtra, iko guṇavṛddhī*, and by *tadantavidhi* means *igantasya* (*aṅgasya,* got by *adhikāra*). The word *aci*, got by *anuvṛtti*, means *ajādau* (*jusi*) by *tadādividhi*. The forms of other *lakāras*, such as *juhuyāt*

(*liṅ*), *hūyāt* (*āśiṣi liṅ*), *ahauṣīt* (*luṅ*) and *ahoṣyat* (*lṛṅ*) can be easily worked out.

Thus ends the treatment of *juhotyādi gaṇa*.

Now we take up √*div* (of cl. 4).

487. This *sūtra* lays down that after √*div* and other roots of that class the *vikaraṇa syan* (=*ya*) will be added instead of *śap*. Thus we would have *div*+*ya*+*ti* (for *laṭ* 3rd sg.).

488. In this *sūtra* the whole of *PA* 8.2.76 (No. 323) is to be got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the lengthening of the penultimate *ik* of a base ending in *r* or *v* when followed by a consonantal *pratyaya*. Hence now we have *dīvyati*. The forms of other *lakāras*, namely *dideva* (*liṭ*), *devitā* (*luṭ*) *deviṣyati* (*lṛṭ*), *dīvyatu* (*loṭ*) *adīvyat* (*laṅ*), *dīvyet* (*liṅ*), *dīvyāt* (*āśiṣi liṅ*), *adevīt* (*luṅ*), and *adeviṣyat* (*lṛṅ*) can be easily worked out.

Thus ends the treatment of *divādi gaṇa*.

489. Now we take up √*su* (cl. 5). This *sūtra* lays down the *vikaraṇa śnu* (=*nu*) for √*su* and other roots of this class (i.e. cl. 5). This, of course, is an *apavāda* of No. 356 above. Thus the *laṭ* forms of √*su* would be *sunoti, sunutaḥ, sunvanti* etc.

490. In this *sūtra* the word *asya* refers to the *ukāra*, spoken of in *PA* 6.4.106 (No. 491), which has to be *asaṁyogapūrva* and *pratyayasambandhī*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *u* of a pratyaya not preceded by a conjunct consonant is elided optionally when followed by *m* or *v*. Accordingly in *laṭ* 1st du. we have *sunu*+*vaḥ* = *sunuvaḥ* or

sunvaḥ. Similarly plr. would be *sunumaḥ* or *sunmaḥ*. The *laṭ ātmp.* forms, such as *sunute, sunvāte, sunuvahe, sunvahe,* etc. are to be similarly worked out.

The forms of the other *lakāras,* such as *suṣāva, suṣuve* (*liṭ*), *sotā* (*luṭ*), *soṣyati, soṣyate* (*lṛṭ*), *sunotu, sunutāt* etc. (*loṭ*) can be easily explained. For *loṭ* 2nd sg. the position is *sunu+hi.*

491. In this *sūtra* the words *heḥ* and *luk* are got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *hi* (2nd sg. ending) after *u* of a *pratyaya* when it is not preceded by a conjunct consonant. Accordingly now we get *sunu;* and we may also have *sunutāt.* The *loṭ* 3rd and 2nd person forms of *su* can be similarly explained.

492. This *sūtra* has been explained above (No. 388). Accordingly 1st pers. *parasm.* forms would be *sunu+ā+ni = sunavāni; sunavāva sunavāma.* In *ātmp.* the forms would be *sunu+ā+i = sunavai; sunavāvahai, sunavāmahai.* The forms of *laṅ,* namely *asunot,* etc. and *asunuta,* etc., can be similarly explained. The 3rd sg. and du. *liṅ* (*vidhi*) forms of √*su* are *sunuyāt.* and *sunuyātām.* For 3rd plr. the position is *sunu+yā+us.*

493. In this *sūtra ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* comes by *adhikāra* (*PA* 6.1.75) and the words *āt* and *pararūpam* come by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *pararūpa* as *ekādeśa* when *a* or *ā* not standing at the end of a *pada* is followed by *u* (of *us*). Accordingly we now get *sunuyuḥ*. The other *parasmp.* forms of *liṅ* and also those of *ātmp.* can be easily worked out. The forms of *āśiṣi liṅ* are *sūyāt* (3rd sg. *parasmp*), *suṣīṣṭa, suṣīyāstām, suṣīran* (3rd sg., du., plr. *ātmp*) also can be easily explained. Now we come to *luṅ.*
445).

494. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama iṭ* for *sic* after the roots *stu, su* and *dhū* when *parasmaipada* endings are appended. The words *sicaḥ* and *iṭ* come in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus 3rd sg. *parasmp* of *luṅ* of √*su* would be *asu+s+t* = *asu+i+s+ī+t* = *asu+i+īt* = *asāvīt*. In *ātmp* the form would be *asoṣṭa*. The *lṛṅ* forms, namely *asoṣyat*, etc. can be easily explained.

Thus ends the treatment of *svādigaṇa*.

495. Now we take up √*tud* (cl. 6). This *sūtra* lays down *śa* instead of *śap*. for roots of class 6. The forms of √*tud* in various *lakāras* in both the *padas* can be easily worked out. *tudati, tudate* (*laṭ*); *tutoda, tutoditha, tutude* (*liṭ*); *tottā* (*luṭ*); *totsyati, totsyate* (*lṛṭ*); *tudatu, tudatām* (*loṭ*); *tudet, tudeta* (*liṅ*); *atudat, atudata* (*laṅ*); *tudyāt, tutsīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ*); *atautsīt, atutta* (*luṅ*); *atotsyat, atotsyata* (*lṛṅ*).

Thus ends the treatment of *tudādigaṇa*.

496. Now we take up √*rudh* (cl. 7). *DP* gives the root as *rudh-ir*. This *vārttika* lays down that *ir* (in such cases) should be declared to be *it*. Thus the actual form of the root is *rudh* as given above.

497. This *sūtra* lays down the *vikaraṇa śnam* (=*na*) instead of *śap* for roots of class 7. Thus *laṭ* 3rd sg. would be *rudh+ti* = *ru+na+dh+ti* = *ruṇaddhi*. For du. the position is *ruṇadh+taḥ*.

498. In this *sūtra* the words *sārvadhātuke* and *kṅiti* come by *anuvṛtti;* and *śnasoḥ* is gen. du. of *śnas* (=*śna* and *as*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *a* of the *vikaraṇa śnam* and of √*as* will be elided when followed by *sārvadhātuka kit* and *ṅit* endings. Thus *rundh+dhaḥ* = *runddhaḥ;* Similarly *runddha* (2nd plr.). The *parasmp.* forms of √*rudh* in various *lakāras* can thus be easily worked out. In *ātmp.*

the forms in *laṭ* are *runddhe, rundhāte* etc. The forms of the other *lakāras* in both the *padas* are:—*rurodha, rurudhe* (*liṭ*); *roddhā* (*luṭ*); *rotsyati, rotsyate* (*lṛṭ*); *ruṇaddhu, rundhāt, runddhām,* etc., *runddhām, rundhātām* etc. (*loṭ*); *aruṇat, arunddhām, arundhan* (*laṅ* 3rd sg, du, plr. *parasmp*).

499. In this *sūtra*, the *sūtra sipi dhātor rur vā* is got by *anuvṛtti;* and *daḥ* by *tadantavidhi* means *dakārāntasya* (*dhātoḥ,* got by *adhikāra*). The word *padasya* also is got by *adhikāra* (and means *padāntasya*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down, that the final *d* of a *pada* belonging to a root ending in *d* is changed to *ru* (*r*) when followed by *sip* (=*si.* of 2nd sg), optionally. Hence we get *aruṇadh si* = *aruṇat+s* = *aruṇat* or *aruṇad* or *aruṇaḥ* (*laṅ* 2nd sg. *parasmp*). All the other forms of *laṅ parasm.* and *ātmp* can be easily worked out. The forms *rundhyāt, rundhīta* (*liṅ*), and *runtsīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ*) can be easily explained.

500. In this *sūtra* the words *dhātoḥ, cleḥ, aṅ* and *parasmaipadeṣu* are got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *cli* by *aṅ* in the case of roots having mute *ir* in *DP*. Accordingly we get *a+rudh+cli+t* = *arudh+a+t* = *arudhat.* When, however, *aṅ* is not substituted for *cli,* the form would be *arautsīt* which can be easily explained. All the other forms of *liṅ* can be easily worked out. The 3rd sg. *ātm. luṅ* is *aruddha;* while *arotsyat, arotsyata* are *lṛṅ* 3rd sg. *parasmp* and *ātmp.* respectively. Similarly are to be conjugated the roots *bhid, chid,* and *yuj* (all *irit* roots).

Thus ends the treatment of ***rudhādi gaṇa.***

501. Now we take up √*tan* (class 8). For roots of this class and √*kṛ*, this *sūtra* lays down the *vikaraṇa u* instead of *śap.*

Thus we get the following forms: *tanoti, tanute* (*laṭ*), *tatāna, tene* (*liṭ*), *tanitā* (*luṭ*), *taniṣyati, taniṣyate* (*lṛṭ*), *tanotu, tanutām* (*loṭ*), *atanot, atanuta* (*laṅ*), *tanuyāt, tanvīta* (*liṅ*), *tanyāt, taniṣīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ*), *atanīt, atānīt* (*luṅ parasmp*). All these can be easily worked out.

502. In this *sūtra* the words *sicaḥ, luk,* and *vibhāṣā* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *sic* before the endings *ta* and *thās* optionally. Thus we have the forms *atata, atathāḥ;* and *ataniṣṭa* and *ataniṣṭhāḥ* (when *sic* is not elided). Here it has to be observed that *ta* is 3rd sg. *ātmp.* ending and not 2nd plr. *parasmp.* ending. The forms of 2nd plr *parasm.* would be *ataniṣṭa* or *atāniṣṭa*. The forms of *lṛṅ,* such as *ataniṣyat, ataniṣyata* can be easily explained.

Now we take up √*kṛ* (cl. 8). The 3rd sg. *laṭ* would be *kṛ+u+ti* = *karoti*.

503. The words *upratyayāntasya* and *kṛñaḥ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. So also the word *kṅiti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *u* for *a* of *kṛ* ending in the *vikaraṇa* *u* when followed by *sārvadhātuka kit* or *ṅit* endings. Hence 3rd du. *laṭ* would be *kṛ+u+taḥ* = *kar+u+taḥ* = *kurutaḥ*. For 3rd plr. the position is *kuru+anti*.

504. This *sūtra* prohibits the elongation of the penultimate *a* laid down by *PA* 8.2.77 (No. 488) in the case of *bha* ending in *r* or *v* and also in the case of *kur* (√*kṛ*) and *chur*. Hence we have *kurvanti*. Forms of 2nd person of √*kṛ* parasm can be easily worked out; and 1st person sg., *karomi* is also easy. For 1st du. and plr. the position is *kuru+vaḥ* (*kuru maḥ*).

505. In this *sūtra* the words *utaś ca pratyayāt* (from No. 491) and the words *lopaḥ mvoḥ* (from No. 490) are got by *anu-*

vṛtti. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the elision of *u* belonging to a *pratyaya* before *m* and *v* is obligatory in the case of √*kṛ*. Hence we now have *kurvaḥ*, *kurmaḥ*. Similarly in *ātmp*. We shall have *kurvahe*, *kurmahe*. The other forms of √*kṛ* in *laṭ* can be easily worked out. The forms of √*kṛ* in *liṭ*, such as *cakāra*, *cakartha*, *cakṛva*, and *cakre*, can be easily explained. So also *kartā* (*luṭ*). etc.

506. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama iṭ* for *sya* (of *lṛṭ*) in the case of roots ending in *ṛ* and also of √*han*, (The word *iṭ* being got by *anuvṛtti*). Hence now we have *kṛ+sya+ti=kar+iṣya+ti* = *kariṣyati*. In *ātmp*, we get *karisyate*. The forms of *loṭ* such as *karotu* and *kurutām*, and of *laṅ* such as *akarot* and *akuruta* can be easily worked out.

507. In this *sūtra* the words *lopaḥ*, *asya* (=*pratyayokārasya*), *karoteḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*; and *ye* means *yādau pratyaye* (*pratyaya* which is implied by *aṅgādhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *u* of *kuru* (√*kṛ*) before *yakārādi* endings. Hence in *liṅ* we have *kuru+yāt=kuryāt*. In *ātmp*. we shall have *kurvīta*. The other forms of *liṅ* can be similarly worked out.

508. In this *sūtra* the words *yi* and *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti* and are to be construed with *liṅ* only (and not with *śa* and *yak* also). Thus they mean *yādāv ārdhadhātuke liṅi*. Secondly the word *ṛtaḥ* also is got by *anuvṛtti* and means *ṛdantasya aṅgasya* (by *tadantavidhi* and *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *ṛ* final of a base (*aṅga*) ending in *ṛ* will be substituted by *ri* before *śa*, *yak* and *yakārādi ārdhadhātuka liṅ* (i.e. *āśiṣi liṅ*). Hence we get *kṛ+yāt* = *kriyāt* (in *parasmp*).

509. This *sūtra* lays down that *jhalādi liṅ* and *ātmanepadapara sic* coming after roots ending in *ṛ* are to be considered *kit*. In this *sūtra* the words *jhal* (=*jhalādi* by *tadādividhi*), *kit* and the whole of No. 476 are got by *anuvṛtti;* and *uḥ* is gen. sg. of *ṛ* and means *ṛvarṇāt*. The effect of this *sūtra* is to prevent *guṇa*. Hence we get the form *kṛṣīṣṭa*. The other forms of (*āśiṣi*) *liṅ* can be similarly worked out. The forms of *luṅ parasmp*. Such as *akārṣīt* also can be easily explained.

510. This *sūtra* lays down the elision of *sic* after a base (*aṅga*) ending in a short vowel. In this *sūtra* the words *jhali* and *lopaḥ* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus in *luṅ ātmp.* we get *akṛ+s+ta* = *akṛta*. The other forms of this *lakāra* can be easily worked out. The forms of *lṛṅ* also such as *akariṣyat* and *akariṣyata* can be easily explained.

511. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama suṭ* for √*kṛ* when preceded by the prefix *sam* or *pari*. (The word *suṭ* is obtained here by *anuvṛtti*). Thus *laṭ* 3rd sg. is *saṁskaroti*. The forms of other *lakāras* can be easily worked out.

Thus ends the treatment of *tanādi gaṇa*.

512. Now we come to √*krī* (cl. 9). This *sūtra* lays down the *vikaraṇa śnā* (= *nā*) for this *gaṇa* instead of *śap*. Thus *laṭ* 3rd sg. of √*krī* would be *krīṇāti*.

513. In this *sūtra* we get by *anuvṛtti* the whole of No. 514 and also the words *kṅiti* and *sārvadhātuke*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *ī* for *ā* of the *vikaraṇa śnā* and of the *abhyasta* bases when followed by *sārvadhātuka* consonantal *kit* or *ṅit pratyayas*. Hence we get *krī+nā+taḥ* = *krīṇītaḥ*.

514. In this *sūtra* the words *lopaḥ* and *sārvadhātuke kṅiti* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *ā* of bases ending in *śnā* and of the *abhyasta* bases before *kit* and *ṅit sārvadhātuka pratyayas*. Thus we get *krī+nā+anti = krī+n+anti = krīṇanti*. All the forms of all the *lakāras* can now be easily worked out. Thus we get the following forms: *krīṇāsi* etc. (*laṭ*), *krīṇite* etc. (*laṭ ātmp*), *cikrāya, cikriye* (*liṭ*), *kretā* (*luṭ*), *kreṣyati, kreṣyate,* (*lṛṭ*), *krīṇātu, krīṇītām* (*loṭ*), *akrīṇāt, akrīṇīta* (*laṅ*), *krīṇīyāt, krīṇīta* (*liṅ*), *krīyāt, kreṣīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ*), *akraiṣīt, akreṣṭa* (*luṅ*), and *akreṣyat, akreṣyata* (*lṛṅ*).

Thus ends the treatment of *kryādigaṇa*.

515. Now we take up √*cur* (class 10), for which this *sūtra* lays down the *pratyaya ṇic* (=*i*) without any change of meaning. This *pratyaya* is laid down here for the bases *satyāpa* etc. and the *curādi* roots, in addition to the *vikaraṇa śap* (and not instead of it, as in the case of roots of other *gaṇas*). Thus we get, *cur+i+a+ti = cor+e+a+ti = corayati*. Similarly we can get the remaining forms of *laṭ*.

516. In this *sūtra* the words *ātmanepadam* and *kartra-bhiprāye kriyāphale* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and the word *ṇicaḥ* by the *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* means *ṇijantāt*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *ātmp* endings will be appended to *ṇijanta* bases (*aṅgas*) when the *kriyāphala* is intended to go to the agent. Thus from √*cur* we have: *corayate* (*laṭ*), *corayāṁcakre, corayāmbabhūva, corayāmāsa* (*liṭ*); *corayitā* (*luṭ*), *corayatu, corayatām* (*loṭ*), *acorayat, acorayata* (*laṅ*), *corayet, corayeta* (*liṅ*).

517. In this *sūtra* the word *ārdhadhātuka* is got by *adhikāra* and *lopaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. The word *aniṭi* by the *pratyaya-grahaṇaparibhāṣā* means *aniḍādau*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *ṇi* (=*i*) before *ārdhadhātuka pratyayas* not beginning with *iṭ* (=*i*). Thus in *āśiṣi liṅ* we get *cur+i+yāt* = *coryāt*. But in *ātmp* we get *corayiṣīṣṭa* (because the *pratyaya* is not *aniḍādi*).

518. Now we come to *luṅ*. This *sūtra* lays down that *caṅ* will be substituted for *cli* in the sense of *kartṛ* after *ṇi* (i.e. bases ending in *ṇi*) and the roots *sru, dru,* and *śri*. Hence for *luṅ* 3rd sg. *parasmp.* we have *cur+i+a+t* = *cor+i+at*.

519. This *sūtra* lays down that the penultimate vowel of the base (*aṅga*) before *ṇi* will be shortened when followed by *caṅ*. Thus *cor+i+at* = *cur+i+at* (by No. 233).

520. This *sūtra* lays down the reduplication of the *prathama avayava* (i.e. *ekāc*) of monosyllabic roots, which is not *abhyāsa,* when followed by *caṅ;* and of the *dvitīya avayava* (i.e. *ekāc*), if the root begins with a vowel. In this *sūtra* the words *ekāco dve prathamasya* and *ajāder dvitīyasya* are got by *anuvṛtti*; and the *sūtra* (No. 363) also is so obtained but for the word *liṭi* therein. Thus by reduplication now we get *cucur+i+at*.

521. Now this *sūtra* lays down that the *abhyāsa* of a base (*aṅga*) followed by *ṇi* and *caṅ* is to be operated upon as before *san,* provided it is *laghupara*. Thus in the present case *cu* in *cucur* is to have *sanvatkārya*.

522. This *sūtra* lays down that in the case of *sanvadbhāva,* a short vowel is to be substituted by a long one. Hence we shall now have *a+cūcur+i+at* = *acūcurat*. In *ātmp* we shall

have *acūcurata*. The forms of *lṛṅ* such as *acorayiṣyat* and *acorayiṣyata* can be easily worked out.

Thus ends the treatment of ten *gaṇas*.

523. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *kartṛ* for one that is intended to be mentioned as being independent as regards the performance of the action.

524. This *sūtra* is meant to lay down the designation *hetu*. The word *tat* in this *sūtra* refers to the *kartṛ* of the previous *sūtra*. Thus according to the present *sūtra* the *prayojaka* of that *kartṛ* (as defined above) has the designation *hetu*. The word *ca* in this *sūtra* is meant to imply the *samuccaya* of the designation *kartṛ* (of the last *sūtra*). Thus the *prayojaka* of the *prayojya* agent is both *hetu* and *kartṛ*.

525. The word *hetumati* in this *sūtra* means *prayojakaniṣṭhe preraṇādau vyāpāre vācye*. (Read: *hetuḥ prayojaka ādhāratayā asyāstīti hetumān, BM.*). In this *sūtra* the words *dhātoḥ* and *ṇic* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *ṇic* will be affixed to a root when (by the *lakāra* appended to it) the *preraṇā* (*urge*) given by the *hetu* (the *prayojaka*) to the original agent is intended to be conveyed. This is illustrated in the statement *bhavantaṁ prerayati* = *bhāvayati*. In this case the *ṇic* in *bhāvayati* conveys the *preraṇā* given by the *hetu* (or the *prayojaka kartṛ*) to the *kartṛ* of the original act (conveyed by √*bhū*). This is shown by the word *bhavantam*. (Read: *bhūdhātvarthasya bhavanasya mukhyakartā yajvā, tasya yajvabhavane pravartayitā yājakādiḥ prayojakaḥ, tanniṣṭhāyāṁ preraṇāyāṁ bhūdhātor ṇic, vṛddyāvādeśau. bhāve iti ṇijantam / tasmād bhavanānukūlavyāpārārthakāt laṭi bhāvayati iti rūpam/ BM.*). All the forms (of *ṇijanta*) of all the *lakāras* are to be worked out like those of the *curādigaṇa*.

526. In this *sūtra* the word *aṅgasya* comes by *adhikāra* and the word *saṁ* by *anuvṛtti*. So are the words *it* and *abhyāsasya*. The word *apare* is a *bahuvrīhi* cpd. and means 'followed by *a*'. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *u* of the *abhyāsa* (reduplicated syllable) of the base (*aṅga*) before *san* will be changed to *i* when it is followed by a consonant of the *pavarga*, a letter from the *pratyāhāra yaṇ*, or *j* that are followed by *a*. Thus we have *bhū+i+at* = *bhūbhū+at* = *babhū+at* = *bibhū+at* = *abībhavat*. The remaining forms of *luṅ* can be similarly explained. Here the reduplication and *sanvadbhāva* occur according to Nos. 520-21 above.

Thus ends the treatment of *hetumaṇṇyanta*.

527. In this *sūtra san* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Furthermore *karmaṇaḥ* means *icchākarmaṇaḥ* and is to be construed with *dhātoḥ*. Thus *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ* means: of the root which expresses an act (or *vyāpāra*) which is the object of *icchā*. (*icchākarmībhūto yo vyāpāraḥ tadvācakād dhātoḥ BM*). Similarly *samānakartṛkāt* also has reference to *icchā* and hence signifies: a *dhātu* whose *kartā* is the same as that of the *icchākarma dhātu* as explained above. In simpler terms this *sūtra* lays down the *pratyaya san* to convey desire, for a *dhātu* whose *kartṛ* is identical with that of the *icchā* (or √*iṣ*) and which conveys a sense of *vyāpāra* (or an act), that forms the object of *icchā*. Thus, for example, in *pipaṭhiṣati*, *san* is appended to √*paṭh*. For, the *kartṛ* of *icchā* (or *icchati*) and of √*paṭh* (or *paṭhitum*) is the same; and at the same time √*paṭh* conveys a *vyāpāra* or an act which is the *karman* of *icchā*. *BM* has very succinctly expressed all this idea as follows: *evañ ca icchāsamānakartṛkatve sati icchākarmībhūto yo*

vyāpāraḥ tadvācakād dhātoḥ ityarthaḥ/ Thus *sannanta* of √*paṭh* would be *paṭh+sa+ti* = *paṭh+i+ṣa+ti* (by *iḍāgama*).

528. In this *sūtra*, the *sūtras ekāco dve prathamasya* (*PA* 6.1.1.) and *ajāder dvitīyasya* (*PA* 6.1.2) are got by *adhikāra;* and the words *dhātor anabhyāsasya* are got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the reduplication of the first (or the second) syllable of non-reduplicate roots, before the *pratyayas san* and *yaṅ*. Hence we now have *papaṭh+ i+ṣa+ti.*

529. In this *sūtra* the words *abhyāsasya* and *it* are got by *anuvṛtti.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *i* for *a* of the *abhyāsa* before *san*. Thus now we have *pipaṭh+i +ṣa+ti* = *pipaṭhiṣati* (= *paṭhitumicchati*).

Karmaṇaḥ kim etc. In these words our author has shown why the words *karmaṇaḥ* and *samānakartṛkāt* in No. 527 above are necessary. In the statement *gamanenecchati,* the *gamana* is not the *karman* of *icchā* (or *icchati*), though it is *samānakartṛka* with it. In the second statement *paṭhana* (*paṭhantu*) is the *karman* of *icchā* (or *icchati*), but it is not *samānakartṛka* with it. Thus in the former is violated the condition laid down by the word *karmaṇaḥ,* while the latter violates that laid down by the word *samānakartṛka.* Hence *san* cannot be appended to √ *paṭh* in these statements. If the word *karmaṇaḥ* is dropped from the *sūtra,* in statements like *gamanenecchati san* will have to be admitted; while if the word *samānakartṛkāt* is dropped, statements like *śiṣyāḥ paṭhantu iti icchati guruḥ* will fall under the *sūtra* and admit the use of *san*. But *san* can be admitted in neither. This shows that inclusion of both these words laying down two conditions is quite necessary. For *san* to be appended both the conditions must be satisfied simultaneously.

Thus ends the treatment of *sannanta.*

530. This *sūtra* lays down that the *pratyaya yaṅ* (= *ya*) will be appended to a monosyllabic root beginning with a consonant to indicate (or imply) *kriyāsamabhihāra*. This term is explained as meaning repeated performance (*paunaḥpunya*) and intensity of the act (*bhṛśārtha*). It may further be observed here that this *kriyāsamabhihāra* is only *dyotya* (and not *vācya*) by this *pratyaya* (unlike *san*, which is expressive, *vācaka*, of *iccārtha*).

531. In this *sūtra* the word *abhyāsasya* is got by *anuvṛtti*; and the *luk* meant is that of *yaṅ* only (and not of any other *pratyaya*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* before *yaṅ* or *yaṅluk* (i.e. elision of *yaṅ*). Here it has to be noted that No. 528 has already laid down *abhyāsa* before *yaṅ* (and also *yaṅluk* by *pratyayalakṣaṇapribhāṣā*). This *sūtra* lays down the *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa*. Thus to convey the sense, *punaḥ punaḥ* (*atiśayena vā*) *bhavati*, this *pratyaya* is to be used; and thus we get: *bhūbhū+ya+ta* = *būbhū+ya+te* = *bobhūyate*.

Thus ends the treatment of *yaṅanta*.

532. In this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* we have the words *karmaṇaḥ icchāyāṁ vā*. The word *karmaṇaḥ* (as in No. 527 above) means *iccākarmaṇaḥ*, and *ātmanaḥ* stands for the *icchākartā* himself. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *pratyaya kyac* (= *ya*) will be appended to a *sup* (= *subanta* by *tadanta-vidhi*) which is the *karman* of *icchā* when that object is desired by the desirer (*icchākartṛ*) for himself. (Read: *svasmai yad iṣyate karmakārakaṁ tadvṛtteḥ subantād icchāyāṁ kyaj vā syāt, BM.*). Thus we have *putram+ya+ti*.

533. The word *luk* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti;* and *dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* is *avayavaṣaṣṭhī*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the elision of *sup* endings belonging to what has the designation *dhātu* or *prātipadika*. Now No. 419 (*PA* 3.1.32) lays down the designation *dhātu* for formations in *san* etc. (see Notes on No. 419); while Nos. 96-97 (*PA* 1.2.45-46) lay down the designation *prātipadika* (see Notes on Nos. 96-97). Here we may also remember the remark in the *kāśikā* in this connection, namely *tadantargatās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*. Thus the ending *sup* of *putram* will be elided, because the whole formation has the designation *dhātu* by No. 419. Thus we have *putra+ya+ti*.

534. In this *sūtra* the words *asya* (*avarṇasya*) and *ī* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a base (*aṅga*, got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra*) ending in *a* (*tadantavidhi*) will substitute *ī* (for its final *a*) before *kyac*. Hence *putrīyati*. All the other forms from this base can now be easily worked out. The word *putrīyati* means *putram ātmanaḥ icchati*.

Thus ends the treatment of *nāmadhātus*.

535. In this *sūtra* the word *dhatūbhyaḥ* is got by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffix *yak* (= *ya*) for the roots belonging to the *kaṇḍvādi gaṇa*, without any change of meaning. Here it has to be noted that this *yak* is obligatory and not optional like *san*, *yaṅ* and such other *pratyayas*. Secondly, it is to be observed that these words, namely *kaṇḍū* etc. are twofold; they are either nouns or *dhātus*. The *pratyaya yak* is to be appended to the *dhātus* and not to nouns. (Read: *dvidhā hi kaṇḍvādayaḥ, dhātavaḥ prātipadikāni ca, SK*). Thus from √*kaṇḍū* (P and A as shown by mute *ñ* in *kaṇḍūñ*), we get *kaṇḍū+ya+ti* =*kaṇḍūyati*. Similarly *kaṇḍūyate*, etc.

536. This *sūtra* lays down that *ātmp.* endings will be appended to a root when it is followed by a *vikaraṇa* denoting *kartṛ* to imply or indicate *karmavyatihāra*. The word *ātmanepadam* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. The word *samabhivyāhāra* means *vinimaya*. This may occur when one does something which ordinarily should be done by some one else. It also occurs when an act is performed by two persons mutually to one another. (Read: *parasparakaraṇam api vyatihāraḥ iti kaiyaṭaḥ, BM*. Kaiyaṭa's remark is: *yatrānya-sambandhinīṁ kriyām anyaḥ karoti itarasambandhinīṁ cetaraḥ sa karmavyatihāraḥ*). The illustration *vyatilunīte*, as explained by Bh., *BM*. and our author, illustrates *karmavya-tihāra* of the first type. The *kāśikā* gives the illustration as *vyatilunate* 3rd plr. (and not sg. as we have it here) which surely signifies *vinimaya* (*karmavyatihāra*) of the second type. *BM* has given *saṁpraharante rājānaḥ* to illustrate *vyatihāra* in this sense. It may be observed that the word *karmavya-tihāra* occurs once again in *PA* 5.4.127 where the latter explanation of *karmavyatihāra* (as given here) appears to be favoured by the illustrations, *musalāmusali* and *daṇḍādaṇḍi*, given there.

537. This *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *ātmp.* endings for *la* to denote *bhāva* or *karman*. In No. 342 above *lakāras* have been laid down for transitive roots in the sense of *kartṛ* and *karman*, and for intransitive roots in the sense of *kartṛ* and *bhāva*. The *lakāras* in the sense of *kartṛ* have been dealt with so far; and the present *sūtra* turning to *lakāras* in the sense of *bhāva* and *karman* lays down that these will be substituted by *ātmp.* endings. It may be noted here that *kartari lakāras* are substituted by *parasmp* endings or *ātmp.*

endings as shown in Nos. 345-349. The *karmaṇi* and *bhāve lakāras,* however, are invariably replaced by *ātmp.* endings as laid down by this *sūtra.*

538. This *sūtra* lays down that *yak* (=*ya*) will be appended to a *dhātu* when followed by a *sārvadhātuka lakāra* denoting *bhāva* or *karman.* We know that *bhāva* is *kriyā* or act, which is expressed by a *dhātu.* It is merely repeated (or rementioned) by a *lakāra* expressing a *bhāva.* It is, therefore, but natural that such *lakāra* should correspond in person and number to the *bhāva.* Now the *bhāva* (= action) can never have *sāmānādhikarṇya* (appositional relation) with the first and the second personal pronouns, namely *asmad* and *yuṣmad.* Naturally, therefore, the *lakāra* expressing a *bhāva* must be that of the third person only. Similarly the *kriyā* expressed by a *tiṅ* cannot be *dravya* and can as such afford no scope to a dual and a plural. The *dvi* and the *bahu vacanas,* therefore, are impossible when a *bhāva* is to be expressed. Hence as a general rule only *ekavacana* can be used in such cases. This shows that to express a *bhāva,* the only *tiṅ* (= substitute of *lakāra*) that can be used after a *dhātu* is that of the 3rd person singular (i.e. *ta* and its various substitutes). This is illustrated in the statement *tvayā mayā anyaiśca bhūyate* (*laṭ*), or *babhūve* (*liṭ*). Similarly the corresponding forms in any of the remaining *lakāras* may be used. When, however, the *lakāra* used is meant to express *karman* (*kāraka*), the case is quite different. The *kāraka* (*karman*) can be *yuṣmad, asmad* or any thing else. Similarly it may be *eka, dvi,* or even *bahu.* Thus this would give scope to *tiṅ* endings of all the persons and all the numbers. Our author has not here given illustrations for this. For them see No. 540 below.

539. This *sūtra* lays down that a root ending in a mute vowel in *upadeśa* and the roots *han, grah* and *dṛś* when followed by a *lakāra* expressing *bhāva* or *karman* will be treated optionally as before *ciṇ* and have *iṭ* appended to them when followed by *sya* (of *lṛṭ* and *lṛṅ*), *sic* (of *luṅ*), *sīyuṭ* (of *āśiṣi liṅ*) and *tāsi* (of *luṭ*). Here two points have to be noted: (1) The *āgama iṭ* is not for the *dhātus* but for the *pratyayas sya, sic, sīyuṭ* and *tāsi*. (2) By *ciṇvadbhāva* are meant only such operations as are applicable before *ciṇ* in the *aṅgādhikāra* (*PA* 6.4.1 upto the end of *PA* 7.4). Hence the operations before *ciṇ* outside the *aṅgādhikāra* will not take place here. So far as √*bhū* is concerned the effect of *ciṇvadbhāva* is *vṛddhi* (by No. 162). Thus we get *bhāvitā* or *bhavitā* (*luṭ*), *bhāviṣyate* or *bhaviṣyate* (*lṛṭ*), *bhūyatām* (*loṭ*), *abhūyata* (*laṅ*), *bhūyeta* (*liṅ*), *bhāviṣīṣṭa* or *bhaviṣīṣṭa* (*āśiṣi liṅ*). Here naturally we have optional forms in *luṭ, lṛṭ* and *liṅ*, but not in other *lakāras*.

540. This *sūtra* lays down the substitution of *ciṇ* for *cli* appended to a root when it is followed by *ta* (3rd sg. *ātm. luṅ* ending), substituted for *la* denoting *bhāva* or *karman*. Thus we have *abhāvi* (*luṅ*). But in *lṛṅ* again by No. 539 we have *abhāviṣyata or abhaviṣyata*.

Our author has pointed out that though √*bhū* is as a rule intransitive when combined with a prefix it can become transitive. Thus *anu+bhu* is transitive. Then he proceeds to illustrate the *karman* part of this rule (and of No. 537) which has not been touched so far. The forms in the several *lakāras* are to be obtained on the same lines as above. The only point of difference here is that the root here can have *tiṅ* of any *puruṣa* and any *vacana* substituted for the *la* after

it. Thus we have the statement *anubhūyate ānandaś caitreṇa tvayā mayā ca*. Here 3rd sg. ending is substituted because the *karman* which is to be denoted by the *lakāra* (substituted by it) is *ānanda*. Similarly we can have *anubhūyete* or *anubhūyante*, if the number of things to be experienced is two or more than two. If the object of experience is *asmad* (or *yuṣmad*) the verb will be in the first person (or the second person) and will have the same number as the object (*asmad* or *yuṣmad*). Thus we may have the statements, *tvam anubhūyase, aham anubhūye*. No. 539 can have scope in such cases also. Hence we have the optional forms in *luṅ*, *anvabhāviṣātām* or *anvabhaviṣātām*.

Thus ends the treatment of *bhāvakarmaprakriyā*.

Thus ends the section on *tiṅantaprakriyā*.

541. This is an *adhikāra sūtra* having its sway from here (i.e. *PA* 3.1.91) upto the end of the third *adhyāya* of P's work. Thus what is meant is that all the *pratyayas* laid down from this *sūtra* upto the end of *PA* 3 are to be understood as being laid down for being appended to roots. Such *pratyayas*, it may be observed, are generally designated *kṛt* (as opposed to *taddhita*, which is the name given to *pratyayas* applied to *prātipadikas*). The *kṛt* and the *taddhita pratyas* are generally referred to as *primary* and *secondary* suffixes respectively.

542. This is a *paribhāṣāsūtra*. This *sūtra* (or rather the *paribhāṣā* in this *sūtra*) has been explained by *BM* as follows: *asarūpaḥ iti liṅganirdeśaḥ/ yatra asarūpapratyayo vidhāsyate tatra vetyupatiṣṭhate/* The implication of this explanation is clearly stated by Bh. in *SK* and our author here in the *vṛtti*. Within the *dhātvadhikāra* a non-similar suffix, which evidently

is an *apavāda pratyaya,* is to be considered as optionally *bādhaka* of the *utsarga pratyaya*. As a general rule an *apavāda* is necessarily and invariably *bādhaka* of an *utsarga*. But this does not hold good in the case of the *pratyayas* in this *dhātvadhikāra*. Here *apavāda* is optionally *bādhaka* of the *utsarga*. *Strīpratyayas,* however, follow the general principle in this respect, so that *asarūpa strīpratyayas* are necessarily *apavāda* and hence *bādhaka* of the *utsarga pratyayas*. Actually there is only one *sūtra* in this *dhātvadhikāra* that lays down *strīpratyaya;* and hence *astriyām* in the present *sūtra* has reference to the *sūtras* P. 3.3.94-113. This is clearly stated by *BM* as follows:- *striyāṁ ktin* (*PA* 3.3.94) *iti vakṣyamāṇastryadhikārastham apavādaṁ vinā ityarthaḥ/ stryadhikārastu asarūpaḥ pratyayaḥ nityameva bādhaka iti bhāvaḥ/*

543. This is an *adhikāra sūtra* having its sway from *PA* 3.1.95 upto *PA* 3.1.133 (*ṇvultṛcau*); and is meant to lay down the designation *kṛtya* for all the *pratyayas* laid down within the limits as noted above.

544. This *sūtra* lays down that a *kṛt pratyaya* is used to convey the sense of *kartṛ* (agent). Now *kṛtya* and such other *pratyayas* are *kṛt pratyayas* and hence would be used to denote *kartṛ*. But this is not admissible.

545. This *sūtra* lays down that the suffixes designated as *kṛtya* (see No. 543 above), *kta* (*PA* 3.2.102) and *khalartha* suffixes (*PA* 3.3.126 onwards) will be used to denote the senses of *bhāva* and *karman* only (and not that of *kartṛ*). In this *sūtra* the word *tayoḥ* stands for *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* which are mentioned in *PA* 3.4.69, No. 342 above; and *eva* suggests that these suffixes will have the designation *kṛt* (as well as

kṛtya) and yet they will be used to convey the sense of *bhāva* and *karman* only (and *kartṛ* also as laid down by No. 544).

546. This *sūtra* lays down the suffixes *tavyat, tavya* and *anīyar* to be appended to a *dhātu* to signify *bhāva* or *karman* (as per No. 545). The final *t* (in *tavyat*) and *r* (in *anīyar*) are mute and are meant to indicate the accent of the formation. (see *PA* 6.1.185 and 6.1.210 respectively). So practically we have only two suffixes, namely *tavya* and *anīya*. √*edh* is *akarmaka;* and hence these *pratyayas* when appended to it will signify *bhāva*. This is illustrated by *edhitavyam, edhanīyaṁ tvayā*. We have already seen above (in No. 538) that *bhāva* being a *kriyā* will always be only one and hence will be expressed by a singular ending,: because it cannot have *dvitva* and *bahutva*. Similarly in the absence of a definite gender it can have only a *sāmānya liṅga* i.e. the neuter gender. (Cf. *liṅgasarvanāma napuṁsakam, MBh.* on *PA* 6.4.174; cf. Also the *vārttika, sāmānye napuṁsakam*). Hence a *bhāvavācaka* formation in *tavya* etc. must be neut. sg. The second illustration is *cetavyaś cayanīyo vā dharmas tvayā,* where the *tavya* etc. formation has taken the gender and the number of the word denoting the *kāraka, karman*. In such cases it can be in any gender and any number (according to the *kāraka* that is denoted by it).

547. In this *sūtra, acaḥ* by *tadantavidhi* means *ajantāt* (*dhātoḥ,* which is got by *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that to a root ending in a vowel the suffix *yat* (=*ya*) is appended. Thus from √*ci* we have *ci+y* = *ceyam* (by *guṇa*).

548. In this *sūtra* the word *ātaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a root ending in *ā* will change its *ā* to *ī* before *yat*. Thus *dā+ya* = *dī+ya* = *deyam* (by *guṇa*).

549. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *kyap* (=*ya*) for the roots *i, stu, śās, vṛ, dṛ* and *juṣ*. Thus now we have: *i+ya* or *stu+ya*.

550. This *sūtra* lays down the *āgama tuk* (=*t*) for a base ending in a short vowel before a *pit kṛt* suffix. Hence we get *ityaḥ, stutyaḥ*.

551. When *y* is appended to √*śās*, this *sūtra* will operate. In this *sūtra* the word *upadhāyāḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down the substitution of *i* for *ā* of √*śās* before *aṅ* and consonantal terminations (or suffixes) with mute *k* or *ṅ*. Accordingly *śās+ya* = *śiṣ ya*=*śiṣyaḥ*. From √ *vṛ* and *ā*+ √ *dṛ*, we get *vṛtyaḥ* and *ādṛtyaḥ* (No. 550). From √*juṣ* we have *juṣyaḥ*.

552. In this *sūtra*, *dhātoḥ* comes by *adhikāra* and *ṛhaloḥ* (gen. for abl.) by *tadantavidhi* means *ṛvarṇāntāt halantāt ca* (*dhātoḥ*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the suffix *ṇyat* (*ya*) will be appended to roots ending in *ṛ* or a consonant.

553. This *sūtra* lays down that *c* and *j* will be substituted by *ku* (a letter of the *kavarga*) before the *ghit* suffixes and before *ṇyat*. Here it has to be observed that *PA* 1.3.10 does not apply and the substitution of both *c* and *j* by *ku* takes place before both the suffixes. (i.e. *ghit* and *ṇyat*).

554. This is a *vārttika* which points out that the substitution laid down in No. 553 should be laid down only after such roots as do not take the augment *i* before *niṣṭhā* (i.e. *kta* and *ktavat, PA* 1.1.26). Thus now from √*garj* we shall have, *garjyam* (no *kutva*, because this root takes *i* before *kta, garjita*).

555. In this *sūtra* the word *ikaḥ* is got by *PA* 1.1.3 and the word *dhātupratyaye* is got on the basis of the *paribhāṣā*,

dhātoḥ svarūpagrahaṇe tatpratyaye kāryavijñānam (see *BM*). This *sūtra* thus lays down the *vṛddhi* substitute for the *ṛ* of √*mṛj* before suffixes or *pratyayas* laid down for *dhātus*. Thus *mṛj+ṇyat* = *mṛj+ya* = *mārg+ya* (Nos. 555 and 553) = *mārgya*. It may here be noted that the suffix *kyap* also can optionally be appended to √*mṛj* (*PA* 3.1.113) and then we get *mṛjyaḥ* (neither *kutva* nor *vṛddhi*).

556. From *bhuj+ṇyat* we should get *bhogyam* (*guṇa* and *kutva*). The present *sūtra* declares the formation to be *bhojya* in the sense of *bhakṣya* (eatable). This means that in the other sense the formation would be *bhogya*.

557. This *sūtra* lays down the suffixes *ṇvul* (=*vu*) and *tṛc* (=*tṛ*). It has to be observed that formations in these suffixes are to be used with reference to the present tense only. (Read: *anayor vartamānakālād anyatra na prayoga iti bhāṣyam, BM*). These suffixes are used in the sense of *kartṛ* according to *PA* 3.4.67 (No. 544). Thus from √*kṛ* we get *kṛ+vu*, and *kṛ+tṛ*.

558. This is a *paribhāṣāsūtra* laying down that the suffixes *yu* and *vu* will respectively be substituted by *ana* and *aka*. Here it has to be noted that this substitution is for *yu* and *vu* which are *anunāsika* and not for others. As for *anunāsikatva* we have to remember that in P's system it is known from tradition and not from actual pronunciation. This is shown by the well-known *paribhāṣā*: *pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*. This explains why suffixes like *yu* in *śubhaṁyu* are not substituted by *ana* etc. acc to this *sūtra*. In the case under consideration the substitution takes place and with proper operations we get *kṛ+aka* = *kārakaḥ*; and *kṛ+tṛ* = *kartā*.

559. This *sūtra* lays down three suffixes, namely *lyu* (= *ana* by No. 558), *ṇini* (=*in*) and *ac* (=*a*) for roots in three different *gaṇas*, namely *nandyādi, grahyādi,* and *pacādi* respectively. Here is an instance of the application of the *yathāsaṁkhyanyāya* (*PA* 1.3.10, No. 23). The suffix *lyu* = *yu* = *ana* (No. 558); *ṇini* = *in* (before this the vowel of the base will take *vṛddhi* No. 162); and *ac*=*a*. Illustrations of *lyu* are *nandanaḥ, janārdanaḥ* and *lavaṇaḥ* (for change of *n* to *ṇ* here read *nandyādigaṇe nipātanāt ṇatvam, SK*). Illustrations of *ṇini* are *grāhī, sthāyī, mantrī;* in *sthāyī* there is *yuk āgama* by No. 568. Illustration for *ac* is *pacaḥ*. These are *ākṛtigaṇas.*

560. This *vārttika* lays down the suffix *ka* (=*a*) for the bases *mūlavibhuj* (i.e. *mula* + *vi* + √*bhuj*) etc. Thus we get the formations *mūlavibhujaḥ* (*rathaḥ*), *mahīdhraḥ, kudhraḥ.*

561. This is a *paribhāṣāsūtra* which lays down that in the *dhātvadhikāra* (*tatra* = *asmin dhātvadhikāre*) that which is meant by the word in the locative in the *sūtra* is to be designated *upapada*. This will be clear from illustrations in the following *sūtras*.

562. In this *sūtra, dhātoḥ* is got by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that a root will take the suffix *aṇ* when it has a word expressive of the *karman* (i.e. the object of the *dhātu*) for its *upapada* (or adjunct). Thus, for example, in *kumbhaṁ karoti, kumbha* is the object of √*kṛ*. So when this word (*kumbha*—a *karmavācaka* word) is put before √*kṛ*, the root will take the suffix *aṇ* and thus we shall have *kuṁbha+am+kṛ+aṇ* = *kumbha+kṛ+aṇ* (2.4.71) = *kumbha-*

kāraḥ. Thus it may be seen that *upapada* is a word which is expressive (*vācaka*) of what is indicated in the *sūtra* by the word in the locative.

563. The *ātaḥ* in this *sūtra* means *ākārāntāt* (*tadantavidhi*) *dhātoḥ* (got by *adhikāra*). This *sūtra* thus lays down the suffix *ka* (=*a*) for roots ending in *ā* when not preceded by *upasarga*, and when they have a *karmavācaka* word for *upapada*. The word *karmaṇi* is to be got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. Thus *gāḥ dadāti* = *go*+*dā*+*a* = *godaḥ* (with elision of *ā* by *PA* 6.4.64). Similarly is to be explained *kambaladaḥ*.

564. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *kvip* (=*v*=*o*), to roots having a *karmavācaka* word for adjunct. Thus we have the formation *parṇadhvat* (final *s* being changed to *d* by *PA* 8.2.72, No. 246).

565. This *sūtra* lays down the designation *niṣṭhā* for *kta* and *ktavatu*.

566. In this *sūtra*, *bhūte* and *dhātoḥ* come by *adhikāra*. The suffix *kta* is used to convey *bhāva* and *karman* (acc. to No. 545) and *ktavatu* to denote *kartṛ* (acc. to No. 544). The statement *snātaṁ mayā* and *stutas tvayā viṣṇuḥ* illustrate the use of *kta* in the sense of *bhāva* and *karman* respectively; while *viṣṇur viśvaṁ kṛtavān* illustrates the use of *ktavatu* in the sense of *kartṛ*.

567. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *uṇ* (=*u*, mute *ṇ* indicating *vṛddhi*) for the roots *kṛ*, *vā*, *pā*, *mi*, *ji*, *svad*, *sādh* and *aś*. From √*kṛ* we have *kāru*, (with *vṛddhi* of the final vowel of the root).

568. In this *sūtra*, *ātaḥ* means *ākārāntāt* (by *tadantavidhi*) *aṅgāt* (got by *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *āgama yuk* (=*y*) to a root ending in *ā* when followed by *ciṇ* or a *kṛt*. Illustrations are *vā*+*u* = *vāyu;* and *pā*+*u* = *pāyu*. The words *jāyu* (*ji*+*u* = *jai*+*u* = *jāyu*), *māyu* (*mi*+*u* = *mā*+*u* = *māyu*), *svādu, sādhu* and *āśu* are the formations from roots *svad* etc. mentioned in the previous *sūtra*.

569. This *sūtra* lays down that the *uṇādi* suffixes (they are all *kṛt* suffixes) are variously used and indicate various operations. But as a general rule they are used to indicate a matter of the present and are *saṁjñā śabdas* (i.e. *rūḍha* as opposed to *yaugika śabdas*). In the *uṇādi* section Bh. has brought together about four hundred such suffixes, and remarked that the list is not exhaustive. The others may thus be inferred on the analogy of those that are enlisted in these *uṇādisūtras*.

saṁjñāsu etc. This couplet lays down the general lines on which the so-called *uṇādi* words are to be derived. The first point to be noted in connection with these words is that they are *saṁjñās* (or *rūḍha* words) and are not easily and regularly amenable to ordinary principles of etymology. Nor will the *avayavārtha* be always found to agree with the *samudāyārtha* in them. They represent a process that is exactly the reverse of what is adopted in the case of ordinary words. In the case of ordinary words, the *avayavas* (i.e. *prakṛti* and *pratyaya*) are *pratyakṣa* and the *avayvin* (or *samudāya*) is *unneya* or to be arrived at. In the case of these words the *avayavin* (or *samudāya*) is *pratyakṣa* and the *avayavas* are *unneya*. How the *avayavas* are to be guessed or arrived at in the case of these words, has been stated in this couplet.

Thus this couplet lays down that in the case of these words (1) first infer the form of the root; (2) then try to fix up the suffixes thereafter; and finally (3) try to determine the *anūbandha* (the mute letters attached to *dhātus, pratyayas,* etc.) on the basis of the *kārya* (i.e. the modifications that appear to have taken place in the *dhātu* or in the *pratyaya* or in both). Take, for example, the word *kāru*. Here it is possible to think of the root *kṛ* and the suffix *u*. Then because *ṛ* in √*kṛ* has undergone *vṛddhi,* the suffix will be capped with a mute letter indicating *vṛddhi*. Now there are two such letters, *ñ* and *ṇ*. But *ñ* indicates the *ādyudāttatva* in addition to *vṛddhi,* while *ṇ* indicates *vṛddhi* only. Hence mute *ṇ* is appended to *u* and the suffix is given as *uṇ*. This process will be found at work in all the *uṇādi sūtras;* and is recommended for use in the case of all the words that may not have been included in the so called *uṇādisūtras*. P, however, held the view that these words are not derivable; and has left them out as such.

570. In this *sūtra* the word *dhātoḥ* comes by *adhikāra*. Here it has to be noted that *kriyāyām* etc. is in loc. and hence a word expressive of a *kriyārthā kriyā* is here intended as *upapada* (No. 561). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffixes *tumun* (=*tum*) and *ṇvul* (=*vu* =*aka* by No. 558) for a *dhātu,* when it has a word expressive of an act meant for the act denoted by the *dhātu* for its *upapada*. In the statement *kṛṣṇaṁ draṣṭuṁ yāti,* the act denoted by √*yā* is meant for the act denoted by √*dṛś* and is used along with it as the *upapada* of the latter. Hence the suffix *tum* is appended to √*dṛś* to form *draṣṭum*. Similarly in the other statement the suffix *ṇvul* is appended to √*dṛś* under identical circumstances and we have the formation *darśaka*.

571. In this *sūtra* the word *bhāva* means *siddhāvasthāpanna dhātvartha* (i.e. what in *Nir.* is described as *mūrta sattvabhūta* as opposed to *pūrvāparībhūta* (*bhāva*) the former being expressed by a noun, the latter by an *ākhyāta*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ghañ* for a root when a *bhāva* is to be expressed. This means that a *ghañ* formation denotes *bhāva*. Thus *pac+ghañ* = *pāc+a* (*vṛddhi* indicated by mute *ñ*) = *pāka* (*kutva* indicated by mute *gh*).

572. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ac* (*a*) for roots ending in *i* to denote *bhāva*. In this *sūtra eḥ* means *ikārāntāt* (by *tadantavidhi*) *dhātoḥ* (got by *adhikāra*); and *bhāve* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus *ci+ac* = *ce+a* = *cayaḥ*.

573. This *sūtra* is to be explained as the previous one. It lays down the suffix *ap* for roots ending in *ṛ* and *u* or *ū* in the sense of *bhāva* etc. Thus we get *kṛ+a* = *kara; yu+a* = *yavaḥ; lū+a* = *lavaḥ*.

574. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ktin* in the sense of *bhāva* etc. and further lays down that the formation will be feminine in gender. Here we have to remember that this suffix, which is an *apavāda* to *ghañ*, is necessarily *bādhaka* of the *utsargarūpa* suffix, while the other *apavādas* are only optionally so (see No. 542). The formations *kṛtiḥ* and *stutiḥ* illustrate this rule.

575. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ktvā* (=*tvā*) in the sense of *bhāva,* for a root denoting the prior one of two (or more) acts conveyed by *dhātus,* whose *arthas* have the same *kartṛ* (agent). In the statement *bhuktvā vrajati,* two acts, namely eating and going, have been expressed by the two roots *bhuj* and *vraj* respectively; the agent for both these

is the same; and √*bhuj* denotes an action which is the prior of the two. Hence the suffix *ktvā* is appended to √*bhuj* and thus we get the formation *bhuktvā*. Here it has to be observed that the dual used in the *sūtra* (in the word *samānakartṛkayoḥ*) is *atantra* (i.e. is not intended as the object of the rule). This means that whatever be the number of actions, if they are *samānakartṛka, ktvā* will be appended to all the roots that denote actions which are *pūrvakāla* with reference to the subsequent one which is denoted by a verb. This is illustrated by the statement *snātvā bhuktvā pītvā vrajati,* where all the *kriyās,* namely *snāna, bhojana, pāna,* and *vrajana* are *samānakartṛka;* and the first three of them are *pūrvakāla* with reference to the last one standing for subsequent action. Hence the roots denoting them (namely √*snā,* √*bhuj* and √*pā*) have the suffix *ktvā* appended to them.

576. In this *sūtra* the word *samāse* (by the force of the word *anañpūrve*) means *avyayapūrvapade samāse.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down the substitute *lyap* for *ktvā* for a *dhātu* when it is compounded with an *avyaya* except *nañ.* Thus, *pra+kṛ+tvā = pra+kṛ+ya = prakṛtya* (with *tugāgama* by No. 550).

577. In this *sūtra* the word *ābhīkṣṇya* means *paunaḥpunya* (repetition, repeated performance). By the force of *ca* we get the suffix *ktvā* also in this *sūtra.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down that when *ābhīkṣṇya* (repetition) of a prior action is to be conveyed, the root denoting that action will have the suffix *ṇamul* (=*am*) (or *ktvā*) also appended to it. Thus the position would be *smṛ am* (*namati śivam*) or *smṛ tvā* (*namati śivam*). Now *smṛ+am = smār+am = smāram;* and *smṛ+tvā = smṛtvā.*

578. In this *sūtra* the words *sarvasya dve* come by *adhikāra* (*PA* 8.1.1). The word *nitya* here stands for *nityatva* by which is meant *ābhīkṣṇya* (= *paunaḥpunya,* repetition of the action); and *vīpsā* means *vyāptum icchā* (= *vyāptipratipādanecchā,* where *vyāpti* = *kārtsnyena saṁbandhaḥ*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the repetition of a whole word twice when repetition (*ābhīkṣṇya*) or totality (*vīpsā*) is to be conveyed. Now *ābhīkṣṇya* pertains to action and can find scope only in *tiṅanta* formations (or finite verbs) or in such *kṛdanta* formations as have the designation *avyaya* (as given in *PA* 1.1.39-40, *kṛnmejantaḥ/ ktvātosunkasunaḥ/*). Hence finally we get *smāraṁ smāraṁ* (or *smṛtvā smṛtvā*) *namati śivam.*

Thus ends the treatment of *kṛdanta.*

579. This *sūtra* lays down that *prathamā* (i.e. the first three case-endings) are used to convey the *prātipadikārtha* etc.

There are various views regarding *prātipadikārtha.* (For these see *BM*). Our author (or rather Bh.) has defined *prātipadikārtha* as that meaning which is invariably apprehended on hearing a word. This would cover only *pravṛttinimitta* and *vyakti,* but not *liṅga.* For, in cases like *taṭa* (which is masc., fem., as well as neut.) the definite gender cannot be invariably apprehended. Hence it is not covered by the term *prātipadikārtha* and has, therefore, been separately mentioned. Secondly, it has to be observed that the word *mātra,* since it stands at the end of a *dvandva* compound, is to be construed with each one of the members of that compound. Now *prātipadikārtha* is apprehended from a nominal stem itself and as such it is correct to say that *prathamā* is used to convey *prātipadikārthamātra.* But *liṅga, parimāṇa* and *vacana* are

not generally apprehended from the *prātipadika*. Hence our author declares that *prathamā* is used to convey *liṅga-mātra* etc. in addition (to the *prātipadikārtha*). Our author proceeds to illustrate these uses one by one. The indeclinables *uccaiḥ, nīcaiḥ* can be said to be proper illustrations for *prātipadikārthamātre prathamā;* for, they have no *liṅga* (gender) and hence have nothing else to convey. The words *kṛṣṇaḥ, śrīḥ,* and *jñānam* are also proper illustrations; for, their *liṅga* is fixed and need not be conveyed separately by the nominative. In such cases *liṅga* is covered by *prātipadikārtha*. The word *taṭa* is not *niyataliṅga* and hence in this case *liṅga* has to be conveyed separately. Thus this is an illustration of *liṅgamātrādhikya*. Thus *taṭaḥ* conveys the masc., *taṭī* fem., and *taṭam,* neut, in addition to the *prātipadikārtha*. The word *droṇo* (*vrīhiḥ*) illustrates *parimāṇamātrādhikye prathamā*. For, *droṇaḥ* conveys the idea of *parimāṇa sāmānya* in addition to the *prātipadikārtha* of the word *droṇa*. The word *vacana* means *saṁkhyā* (or number). We have seen that *liṅga* and *parimāṇa* cannot be conveyed always by the nominal stems themselves. But there are words like *eka, dvi, bahu* which convey *saṁkhyāmātra* and hence they can be said to illustrate *saṁkhyāmātre prathamā* (and not *-matrādhikye prathamā*). It has further to be observed that as a matter of fact *saṁkhyā,* being identical with the *prātipadikārtha* in words like *eka, dvi* and *bahu,* is already *ukta;* and hence, according to the maxim *uktārthānām aprayogaḥ,* we cannot employ the case terminations to denote the sense 'number'. Thus here *prathamā* is *aprāpta;* and hence P has specifically laid down its use in the sense of number.

580. In this *sūtra* the word *prathamā* is got by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* thus lays down that *prathamā* shall be used to convey the idea of *sambodhana* also. Illustration is: *he rāma.*

581. The word *kārakam* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* (*PA* 1.4.23). The word *īpsitatama* has been explained as *kriyayā āptum iṣṭatamaṁ* (*kārakam*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *karman* is the designation given to a *kāraka* which is most desired to be obtained by the *kartṛ* (agent) by means of his act.

582. In this *sūtra* the word *anabhihite* (=*anukte*) is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 2.3.1). Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *dvitīyā* (endings) will be used to express the *karman,* if it is not already otherwise conveyed. In the sentence *hariṁ bhajati, hari* is *āptum iṣṭatama* by means of *bhajanakriyā* by the *bhajaka.* Hence *hari* is *karman.* It is not expressed or conveyed by any thing else; and hence *dvitīyā* has been used to convey the idea.

When, however, *karman* etc. are otherwise expressed, only the *prātipadikārtha* remains to be conveyed. And for this (by No. 579) *prathamā* will be used. Here we are given two statements in which *karman* is *abhihita* and hence only *prathamā* is used. The first sentence is *hariḥ sevyate.* Here the suffix *te* accompanied by *yak* (= *ya* in *sevyate*) expresses *karman* (by *PA* 3.1.67, No. 538); and in the second, namely *lakṣmyā sevitaḥ* (*hariḥ*), it is conveyed by the suffix *kta*. Hence here only *prathamā* is used to convey the sense of the *prātipadika,* which alone has now remained to be conveyed.

583. The words *kārakam* and *anabhihitam* are got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra.* Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the *kāraka*

which is *sādhakatama* (i.e. the most conducive to the accomplishment of the act denoted by the verb) is designated *karaṇa*.

584. This *sūtra* lays down that *tṛtīyā* is used to express or denote either *kartṛ* (agent) or *karaṇa* (the instrument), of course, if it is *anukta*. As in the previous *sūtra*, the words *kārakam* and *anabhihitam* are got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra*. The statement *rāmeṇa* etc. illustrates *kartṛ* as well as *karaṇa*. The *kartṛ* (agent) is defined by P as *svatantraḥ kartā* (*PA* 1.4.54). In this statement *rāma* is the *kartṛ;* and since the agent is otherwise *anukta*, we find the instrumental *rāmeṇa* used to express it. Similarly *bāṇa* is the *sādhakatama* by means of which the *kartṛ* accomplishes the act of killing. And since the idea of *karaṇa* also is not otherwise expressed, *tṛtīyā* has been used to convey it.

585. This *sūtra* defines *sampradāna*. Here *karmaṇā* is to be understood to stand for *dānasya karmaṇā* and *abhipraiti* to stand for *śeṣitvena* (i.e. *bhoktṛtvena*) *abhipraiti* i.e. *adhyavasyati*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that *sampradāna* means one who is intended as the receiver of the object of *dānakriyā*. In the statement given in the next *sūtra*, *gāḥ* is the object of the *dānakriyā* (*dadāti*) and *vipra* is intended as the receiver of that object. Hence *vipra* is *sampradāna*.

586. This *sūtra* lays down that dative shall be used to denote a *sampradāna*, provided it is not otherwise conveyed or expressed (the word *anukte* is got here by *adhikāra*, *PA* 2.3.1 *anabhihite*). The statement *viprāya gāṁ dadāti* shows *vipra*, the *sampradāna*, in the dative.

587. This *sūtra* defines *apādāna*. In this *sūtra* the word *apāya* means separation (*viśleṣa* i.e. *viyoga*), which occurs

when out of two things standing together one moves off. In such a case, the thing that does not move (and is stationary at the moment) is naturally the *avadhi* or *maryādā* (i.e. the point) from which the other thing has moved off. This *avadhibhūta* thing is given the designation *apādāna*. Thus in the statements given in the next *sūtra grāma* and *dhāvat aśva* are the *apādāna,* because they form the *avadhi* (the starting point) of the actions.

588. This *sūtra* lays down that ablative shall be used to denote *apādāna* (as defined above), provided it is not otherwise expressed (the word *anabhihite* being got by *adhikāra*). The two statements illustrate *apādāna* in two possible circumstances. In the first, the *apādāna* (*grāma*) is stationary; while in the other the *apādāna* (namely *dhāvat aśva*) is moving. But in either case, the *apādāna* does serve as the starting point of the action denoted by the main verb, namely *āyāti* in one and *patati* in the other. Hence in both the cases the ablative has been used.

589. The word *śeṣa* in this *sūtra* stands for what has remained after stating the *prātipadikārtha* (i.e. of the nominative) and the *kārakas, karman, kartṛ, karaṇa, sampradāna, apādāna* (conveyed by cases from acc. upto abl.) and *adhikaraṇa* (conveyed by loc. to be dealt with in Nos. 590-91). This in other words means *svasvāmibhāvādisambandha* in general. This *sūtra* lays down that gen. shall be used to convey this *śeṣa*. Thus in brief gen. may be said to convey any kind of relation (*sambandha*) between two things that is not covered up by the other cases. The illustration is *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ,* where the relation between *rājan* and *puruṣa* is only general and does not come under any of the relations conveyed by the other cases.

It has further to be observed that the use of a particular case depends more on the speaker's desire (*vivakṣā*) rather than on the actual relation subsisting between two things. Thus, for example, when *mātṛ* is intended to be conveyed as the object of *smarati* (the act of remembering), accustive will be used; and we shall say *mātaraṁ smarati*. But when the *karmatva* of *mātṛ* is not intended (*vivakṣita*), i.e. when only *saṁbandha-sāmānya* is *vivakṣita*, the word *mātṛ* will be put in the genitive; and we shall say *mātuḥ smarati*. Similarly when *kartṛtva* is *vivakṣita* we shall say *sadbhiḥ gatam;* but if it is not *vivakṣita* we shall use the genitive and say *satāṁ gatam*. In *sarpiṣo jānīte*, the *karaṇatva* is not *vivakṣita;* otherwise the statement would be *sarpiṣā jānīte*. In *edhodakasyopaskurute* and *bhaje śambhoścaraṇayoḥ*, *karmatva* is *avivakṣita* and only *śeṣatva* is *vivaksita;* while in *phalānāṁ tṛptaḥ*, *karaṇatva* is *avivakṣita* and *śeṣatva* is *vivakṣita*. Thus we see that acc., instr. etc. are used when *karman, kartṛ, karaṇa,* etc. are intended to be conveyed as *karman*, etc.; but when they are intended to be conveyed not as *karman*, etc. but as *śeṣa* only, the case to be used is the genitive. This is what our author has stated in the words *karmādīnām api* etc.

590. In this *sūtra, kṛti* means *kṛtpratyaye prayujyamāne; kartṛkarmaṇoḥ* is loc. and means *kartari karmaṇi ca*. The word *ṣaṣṭhī* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that gen. shall be used to express *kartṛ* or *karman*, when the action in question is denoted by a *kṛdanta* formation. Thus *kṛti* (*bhāve ktin*) denotes creation. Now *kṛṣṇa* is the *kartṛ* thereof and hence gen. is used in the statement *kṛṣṇasya kṛtiḥ*. In the statement *jagataḥ kartā kṛṣṇaḥ,* the *kṛdanta* used is *kartā*. Now *jagat* is the object and *kṛṣṇa* is the subject of the action

of creation denoted by the word *kartā*. Hence here the object (namely *jagat*) is denoted by the genitive. Here it has to be noted that in cases like this, where both *kartṛ* and *karman* occur simultaneously in one statement, only the latter can be expressed by the genitive. (*PA* 2.3.36). Hence in the present case we get the gen. *jagataḥ*. As for *kṛṣṇaḥ* it has to be noted that the agent is already conveyed by the suffix *tṛ* (*PA* 3.1.133; 2.135) in the word *kartā*. Now by the maxim *uktārthānām aprayogaḥ* or by the condition *anabhihite* (*PA*. 2.3.1) the instrumental cannot be used. Hence *prātipadikārthamātre prathamā* has been used.

591. This *sūtra* defines *adhikaraṇa* as *ādhāra* (substratum). This *ādhāra* necessarily is that of a *kriyā* (which is implied by the *kāraka adhikāra*). But since a *kriyā* cannot have an *ādhāra* directly for itself, the *ādhāra* here must be understood as something that serves as a substratum for the action indirectly through its *kartṛ* or *karman*. Thus in *kaṭe āste, kaṭa* is really the *ādhāra* of the person who sits (*kartṛ*); and indirectly through him it becomes the *ādhāra* of the act of sitting performed by him. Thus *kaṭa* is the *ādhāra* of the *āsanakriyā* through its agent. In *sthālyāṁ pacati, sthālī* is the *ādhāra* of the *pākakriyā* through its *karman* (*odana* etc.). Thus *ādhāra* is twofold *kartṛdvārā* or *karmadvārā*.

592. This *sūtra* lays down that loc. shall be used to denote *adhikaraṇa* as explained above, of course, if it is *anabhihita*. Our author now explains the varieties of *ādhāra* which are, according to him, three. They are (1) *aupaśleṣika*, (2) *vaiṣayika*, and (3) *abhivyāpaka*. In the last *sūtra* it is pointed out that the designation *ādhāra* was based upon how it was connected with the *kriyā*. Here the basis of division concerns *ādheya*. In

the first and the second illustrations the *kartṛ* and the *karman* are connected with the *adhikaraṇa* (or *ādhāra*) by *saṁyoga* (or *upaśleṣa*). Hence this *ādhāra* is *upośleṣakṛta* or *aupaśleṣika*. In *mokṣe icchā asti, mokṣa* is the *ādhāra* of *asti* (existence) through its subject, namely *icchā*. But *mokṣa* is the *viṣaya* of *icchā* and hence from this point of view *mokṣa* becomes *ādhāra* of *icchā*, through *viṣayatva*. Hence this *ādhāra* is said to be *vaiṣayika ādhāra*. In *sarvasmin ātmā asti, sarva* becomes the *ādhāra* of *asti* through its subject *atman*. But here the relation between *sarva* and *ātman* is *abhivyāpyābhivyāpakabhāva*. Hence the *ādhāra* here is described as *abhivyāpaka*. Thus from the point of view of the relation which the *ādhāra* has with the *kartṛ* or the *karman* of the action concerned, *ādhāra* has three varieties which are designated *aupaśleṣika, vaiṣayika* and *abhivyāpaka*. These are illustrated in the three statements just discussed.

By the force of *ca* in this *sūtra*, the word conveying the sense of *dūra, antika*, etc. also will have the loc. endings appended to them in the sense of the nominative (*prātipadikārthamātre*), (this sense we get from *PA* 2.3.35 which lays down the use of acc. and abl. and instr. after *dūra, antika* and their synonyms to convey *prātipadikārthamātra*).

Thus ends the treatment of *subartha*.

593. Before commencing the section on compounds, our author by way of introduction makes a statement regarding the varieties of compounds (which according to him are five) and their broad characteristics. The varieties together with their characteristics are as follows:—

(1) *Kevala*— This is the name given to all the *samāsas* that do not fall under any one of the following four varieties and hence cannot be given any particular designation (*viśeṣa saṁjñā*).

(2) *Avyayībhāva*— From the name it is quite clear that in this variety the final compound formation is an *avyaya* even if in the dissolution and their independent form, its members are not all of them *avyaya*. In fact only one of its members is *avyaya;* it is more prominent than the other member; and generally stands first in the compound. Hence *avyayībhāva* is described as being *pūrvapadārthapradhāna* as a general rule (*prāyeṇa*). There are certain exceptions to this general rule. These we shall see below.

(3) *Tatpuruṣa*— This variety, broadly speaking, bears a contrast to *avyayībhāva*. For in this variety the *uttara padārtha* is generally more prominent (*pradhāna*) than the *pūrva*. In this variety the final formation is not turned into an indeclinable (as in 2 above).

It has further to be noted that besides its proper variety, this compound has two sub-varieties designated *karmadhāraya* (a sub-variety of *tatpuruṣa* proper) and *dvigu* (a sub-variety of *karmadhāraya* proper). Thus under *tatpuruṣa* we have three different types, namely, *tatpuruṣa* proper (commonly known as *vibhakti tatpuruṣa*), *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu*. All these will be defined and illustrated below. But here also V has used the word *prāyeṇa* to indicate that there are some exceptions to the general rule of *uttarapadaprādhānya* stated by him. These exceptions will be pointed out below.

(4) *Bahuvrīhi*— In this variety neither of its members is *pradhāna;* for in these compounds generally both the members

are *guṇabhūta* to some *padārtha* other than that which is indicated by each one of them. To this also there are some exceptions. These we shall see below.

(5) *Dvandva*— In this variety both the members are equally *pradhāna,* of course, as a general rule. Exceptions to this also will be shown below.

From what has been stated so far, it should not be very difficult to see the principle on which our author has sought to classify the compounds. It must first of all be noted that for this purpose he has chosen the smallest unit of a compound (i.e. compound comprising two members only). The two members naturally are designated *pūrva* and *uttara* respectively. Then taking into consideration the factor of *prādhānya* one can see four different possibilities, namely *prādhānya* of the *pūrva,* or of the *uttara,* or of both *pūrva* and *uttara,* or of neither of them (and hence of some other *padārtha*). Logically, therefore, we get four different varieties, which have been designated *avyayībhāva, tatpuruṣa, dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi.* But since this consideration is too broad and perhaps too mechanical, it is not impossible that some compound words may be left uncovered by all this. Such compounds are, therefore, classed as the fifth variety, which is given the name *kevala.* This use of the designation *kevala* is analogous to its use in connection of Śaṁkarācārya's *advaita* (which is called *kevala advaita*). The systems propounded by Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Vallabha are *advaita* no doubt but qualified by some specific adjunct. Hence they are generally designated *viśiṣṭādvaita, dvaitādvaita* and *śuddhādvaita* respectively. But the system propounded by Śaṁkarācārya has no such specific adjunct. But it has to be distinguished from the other types

of *advaita* just referred to. Hence it has been given the designation *kevalādvaita*. Now it will be clear why *kevala* (*samāsa*) has been described by our author as *viśeṣasaṁjñāvinirmukta*.

Attention may here be drawn to a couplet (quoted by Bh. in his *SK*) according to which *samāsas* are of six different varieties according to the class or kind to which their component members belong. The couplet is:

> *supāṁ supā tiṅā nāmnā dhātunātha tiṅāṁ tiṅā /*
>
> *subanteneti vijñeyaḥ samāsaḥ ṣaḍvidho budhaiḥ//*

In fact one may read with profit as well as interest the whole of the *sarvasamāsaśeṣaprakaraṇa* of Bh's *SK* on which the present introductory statement of our author is based.

The word *samartha* has been variously explained: (1) *sambaddhārthaḥ samarthaḥ*, (2) *saṅgatārthaḥ samarthaḥ*, or (3) *saṁsṛṣṭārthaḥ samarthaḥ*. The *sāmarthya* according to the first explanation consists of the *vyapekṣā*, which brings about mutual connection (*parasparānvaya*) among the various *padas* in a statement on the basis of *ākāṅkṣā*. This *sāmarthya* exists in a statement (*vākya*) only, where each constituent *pada* is free to have its own suitable *anvaya* on the strength of *ākāṅkṣā*, *yogyatā* and *saṁnidhi*. According to the other two explanations, the *sāmarthya* will be *ekārthībhāvalakṣaṇa*, which belongs to (not individual *padas* as above, but to) all the *padas* together when formed into one whole. By this *sāmarthya* words formed into a compound together convey *viśiṣṭaikārtha*. These two *sāmarthyas* would thus seem to be mutually exclusive. But it should be remembered that there

are cases like *devadattasya gurukulam,* where both of them may be observed to come together. For this read the following couplets: —

sambandhiśabdasāpekṣo nityaṁ sarvaḥ samasyate/
vākyavat sā vyapekṣā hi vṛttāvapi na hīyate //

samudāyena sambandho yeṣāṁ gurukulādinā/
saṁspṛśyāvayaṁste tu yujyante tadvatā saha// VP. 3.14. 47f.

It is further to be observed that *samartha* in this *sūtra* by *lakṣaṇā* means *samarthāśrita.* (Read: *sūtre samarthaśabdaḥ samarthāśrite lākṣaṇikaḥ, BM*). The *Kāśikā* has accepted this explanation, though it would rather understand the word *samartha* as directly having the power to convey the sense of the *vigrahavākya.* (Read: *vigrahavākyārthābhidhāne yaḥ śaktaḥ sa samartho veditavyaḥ/ athavā samarthapadāśrayatvāt samarthaḥ/ samarthānāṁ padānāṁ sambaddhārthānāṁ saṁsṛṣṭārthānāṁ vidhir veditavyaḥ*). Our author, however, appears to prefer the latter, as Bh. has done it in his *SK. padavidhi* = a *vidhi* (or rule) pertaining to a *pada* (a fully formed or inflected word, as opposed to *prātipadika* or a crude word. For a definition of *pada* read *suptiṅantaṁ padam, PA* 1.4.14).

One more thing to be noted about this *sūtra* is that it is a *paribhāṣā* which is to be distinguished from *adhikāra.* This has been discussed before.

594. This is an *adhikārasūtra* having its sway as far as the word *kaḍāra* (in *PA* 2.2.30). In this *sūtra* P has used the word *prāk.* The purpose behind this can be understood when we look to the *sūtra, ā kaḍārād ekā saṁjñā, PA* 1.4.1.

In that *sūtra, ekā saṁjñā* has been enjoined by employing the expression *ā kaḍārāt*. By avoiding that expression in the present *sūtra,* P has indicated that the rule of *ekā saṁjñā* is not applicable here. This, in other words, means that from here upto *kaḍāra,* there will be *saṁjñāsamuccaya* (or *saṁjñāntarasamāveśa*). Thus what is ultimately meant is that what are discussed hereafter upto *PA* 2.2.38, will have the designation *samāsa* in addition to any other designations (such as *avyayībhāva, tatpuruṣa,* etc.), that are laid down in some of the following *sūtras*. It is, however, obvious that *saṁjñāntarasamāveśa* is possible only with the designation *samāsa* that is laid down in that *sūtra,* but not with the designations *avyayībhāva* etc. which fall under the sway of the *sūtra, ā kaḍārād ekā saṁjñā.*

595. In this *sūtra,* the word *sup* is obtained from the preceding *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti,* Secondly, by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā sup* means *subanta. Kāśikā* tells us that the two words in this *sūtra* along with the third word *sup* got by *anuvṛtti* should be considered to form an *adhikāra.* (Read: *trayamapyadhikṛtaṁ veditavyam yad ita ūrdhvaṁ anukramiṣyāmas tatredam upasthitaṁ draṣṭavyam/*). Two of our MSS read *vā* in the *vṛtti* on this *sūtra.* But in view of the reading found in Bh's *SK* we think it better not to read it. As a matter of fact, P has admitted option in the case of *samāsas* by the *sūtra vibhāṣā* (*PA* 2.1.11). This option, however, is not available in the present *sūtra;* and hence Bh. is right in not admitting it here. Even the *Kāśikā* has not admitted it. Thus by this rule a *subanta* is compounded with another *subanta;* and a *samāsa* is formed. Now acc. *PA* 1.2.38 a *samāsa* is a *prātipadika*; and hence acc. *PA* 2.4.7, *supo dhātuprātipadi-*

kayoḥ, the case-endings standing after component members are elided. V is here giving an illustration of the present *sūtra* and explaining the whole process of formation step by step. The illustration given by him is *pūrvaṁ bhūtaḥ* (this is the *vigrahavākya*) *bhūtapūrvaḥ* (this is the compound word). Here the original words (members of the compound) are *pūrvam* and *bhūtaḥ*. Both of them are *subanta* and hence by the present *sūtra* we can form a compound. Now the question is, which word is to be placed first in the compound? P has laid down that *upasarjana* shall be *pūrva* (*PA* 2.2.30). In another *sūtra* (*PA* 1.2.43) P lays down that *upasarjana* is what is mentioned by nom. in a *sūtra* enjoining a *samāsa*. Now in the present *sūtra sup* is nom., which shows that a *sup* (= *subanta*) will be *upasarjana*. But since both the words in the compound under discussion are *subanta,* either of them can be *upasarjana* and as such stand first in the *samāsa*. Such, however, is not the usage, as shown by P himself. For in *PA* 5.3.63, he has used the expression *bhūtapūrva* which is understood as an indication of the position of *bhūta* in the compound expression formed out of *pūrva* and *bhūta*. Hence we get *bhūta+s* + *pūrva+am*. As this stage comes in *PA* 2.4.7 and the *sup* (= case-endings) are elided. This gives us *bhūta pūrva,* which then becomes one word *bhūtapūrva* (nom. sg. mas. *bhūtapūrvaḥ*).

nirdeśāt — It may be observed here that authorities on SK. grammar right from Pat onwards have tried to infer (or deduce) certain rules which were required by the current usage but were not actually framed by P. This they did on the basis of P's own *sūtras,* which to their descerning eye offered some indications of the required rule. Here is a case

which illustrates this point. For though P himself has nowhere ruled that *bhūta* must be placed first when compounded with *pūrva,* the fact that he has himself used the word *bhūtapūrva* (and not *pūrvabhūta*) is indication strong enough to suggest (and establish) the *pūrvanipāta* of *bhūta.*

596. This is said to be a *vārttika* which is variously read by different authorities. We have adopted the reading accepted by Bh. and supported by two of our MSS.

A few points have to be noted about this *vārttika*:—

(1) The word *iva* in P's system is a *subanta,* with its *sup* elided according to *PA* 2.4.82. Hence the compound enjoined in this *vārttika* is in fact covered by No. 595; and the *vārttika* thus appears to be redundant. But it has to be observed that in the absence of this *vārttika,* the word *iva* also would be an *upasarjana* and hence have *pūrvanipāta.* This is warded off by this *vārttika* by putting the word *iva* in instr. and thus preventing it from being *upasarjana.* The word *iva* will, therefore, always stand second in this *samāsa.* (2) The compound with *iva* is, as a matter of fact, found in the Veda only. In classical SK. it is not obligatory. In fact, it may not be treated as a compound at all, though rhetoricians like Mammaṭa have accepted it as forming a *nitya samāsa.* (3) The rule *PA* 2.4.7 quoted above does not apply to this *samāsa* and hence the *sup* after the first member is not elided. (4) *vāgarthāviva* and *vāgarthau iva* may be understood as *samāsa* and *vigrahavākya* respectively, and said to illustrate the optional nature of the *samāsa.* (5) finally we may note the expression *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratvam* (read in this *vārttika* by some authorities) which lays down that in this compound

the first member will retain its original accentuation. As a general rule a *samāsa* is oxytone (*PA* 6.1.223 *samāsasya*); but the *samāsa* with *iva* will not be so. It is *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*. In *RV*. this *samāsa* is found to be *nitya* as also *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara* (as is clearly shown by the *padapāṭha*). The proper vedic illustration for this rule would be *aśveiva, gāveva*, etc. (or *jīmūtasyeva* given by Bh.). In *YV*., however, this *samāsa* is not recognized as such (cf. *yājuṣās tu bhinne eva pade paṭhanti, BM*.).

Here ends the treatment of the *kevala samāsa.*

597. With this *sūtra* begins the treatment of the second variety. This is an *adhikārasūtra* having its sway upto *PA* 2.1.20, and laying down the designation *avyayībhāva* for all the compounds detailed upto that *sūtra*. This designation is not, however, *bādhaka* of the designation *samāsa* as has been already shown above. The designation *avyayībhāva* is quite significant (*anvartha*) and indicates the *prādhānya* of the *pūrvapada* in these compounds. (Read: *anvarthasaṁjñā ceyaṁ mahatī pūrvapadārthaprādhānyam avyayībhāvasya darśayati, Kāśikā*).

598. In this *sūtra* the words *saha, supā* and *samarthena* are obtained from the preceding *sūtras* by *adhikāra* or *paribhāṣā* or *anuvṛtti;* and the loc. conveys the idea of *vartamānam*. Thus the *sūtra* means that an *avyaya* conveying the sense of *vibhakti, samīpa*, etc. is compounded with a *subanta* to form an *avyayībhāva*. The word *vacana* is to be construed with each one of the preceding words (namely *vibhakti* etc.) acc. to the rule *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṁ padaṁ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*. Now our author proceeds to illustrate this *sūtra*

part by part. For *vibhakti* he takes the *samāsa adhihari,* and shows how it is formed step by step. Before, however, actually starting with this compound, he has given us the definition of *nitya samāsa.* This he feels compelled to do because while explaining this *sūtra* he has stated that the *samāsa* formed acc. to this *sūtra* is *nitya.* A *nitya samāsa* is a compound which has no dissolution or which has no dissolution with its own members (*padas*). This two-fold definition is taken by our author from Bh's *SK.,* where we find some remarks on *vigraha.* The definition of *vigraha* given by Bh. is *vṛttyarthāvabodhakaṁ vākyam,* which, we are told is twofold, namely *laukika* and *alaukika.* In the case of *rājapuruṣa,* the two *vigrahas* respectively are (1) *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* and (2) *rājan as puruṣa su.* The *samāsa,* for which *laukika vigraha* with its own members is not possible, is a *nitya samāsa.* Now *adhihari* (the illustration chosen by V) is a *nitya samāsa* and can have only *alaukika vigraha;* and this he gives as *hari*+*ṅi adhi.* The usually given *vigraha,* namely *harau,* is its *laukika vigraha;* but it is *asvapadavigraha.*

599. In this position V takes up two of P's *sūtras,* one defining an *upasarjana* and the other laying down that *upasarjana* is to be placed first in the compound. The present *sūtra* gives the definition of *upasarjana.* In this *sūtra, samāse* = *samāsaśātre,* that is in the *sūtra* enjoining the *samāsa.* Accordingly in the case under consideration, *adhi* (the *avyaya*) is *upasarjana.*

600. According to this *sūtra, adhi* (being *upasarjana*) will stand first in the *samāsa.* Before this, however, the *sup* after *hari* will be elided by *PA* 2.4.71; and then by the present rule we shall have *adhihari* after which *sup* (nom. sg. ending

s) is to be appended (acc. *PA* 2.3.46) in the sense of *prātipadikārthamātra.*

601. At this stage, we have to note that *avyayībhāva* is an *avyaya*. (*PA* 1.1.37-47 state the various formations or words that are designated *avyaya*). And because it is an *avyaya,* therefore, by *PA* 2.4.82, the *sup* after it is elided. Hence ultimately we get the *samāsa, adhihari.* It may be observed here that *harau* is the *laukika* (but *asvapada*) *vigraha*. *BM* has explained this whole process succinctly as follows:—

> *harāu iti laukikavigrahaḥ/ . . adhiśabdasya harāu ity anenāvyayībhāvasamāse subluki, samāsavidhāv avyayamiti prathamānirdiṣṭatvāt adheḥ pūrvanipāte, samāsāt utpannasya supaḥ. avyayād āpsupaḥ iti luk. iti bhāvaḥ/*

602. Now our author turns to *upakṛṣṇam* (*kṛṣṇasya samīpam*) illustrating the next item in No. 598. Here the position is *kṛṣṇa*+ *ṅas upa* (*alaukika vigraha*). By *PA* 2.4.71 *ṅas* will be elided and by No. 599 and 600 *upa* will be placed first. Thus we get *upa*+*kṛṣṇa* (and *s* of nom. sg.). Now by *PA* 2.4.82, *s* will have to be elided. But the present *sūtra* prohibits elision of *sup* after an *avyayībhāva* ending in *a*. In this *sūtra, ataḥ* stands for *adantāt;* and *supaḥ* and *luk* are obtained by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. The present *sūtra,* it may be observed, falls into two parts. The first part prohibits the elision of *sup* after an *adanta avyayībhāva,* while the second part lays down that instead of *luk*, the *sup* has the *ādeśa am,* except, however, the abl. case-ending. Hence *s* (in the above position) is substituted by *am;* and we shall have *upakṛṣṇa*+*am,* which by No. 113 will give us the final *samāsa* as *upakṛṣṇam.* In

this case, *kṛṣṇasya samīpam* (the *laukika vigraha*) is *asvapada-vigraha*; so this is a *nitya samāsa*.

Here it has to be noted that *ādeśa am* substitutes all case endings except the abl. and hence *upakṛṣṇam* represents all other cases, while with abl. ending the compound will be *upkṛṣṇāt*.

603. In this *sūtra* P has laid down that the substitution of *am* for instr. and loc. endings takes place as a general rule, but not invariably. Hence with those case-endings the final forms of the compound will be *upakṛṣṇam* or *upakṛṣṇena;* and *upakṛṣṇam* or *upakṛṣṇe* respectively. The words *sumadram* and *duryavnam* are illustrations of the next two items in No. 598. Here *madrāṇāṁ samṛddhiḥ* and *yavanānāṁ vyṛddhiḥ,* the *laukika vigrahas,* are *asvapada vigrahas;* while the *alaukika vigrahas* are *madra+ām+su* and *yavana+ām+dur* respectively. The ultimate formations are to be explained exactly like *upakṛṣṇam* above.

604. Turning to the next item in No. 598 above, our author now takes up the illustration *nirmakṣikam* (the *vigrahavākya* being *makṣikāṇām abhāvaḥ*). Now acc. to No. 599 *nir* (being an *avyaya*) is *upasarjana*. But the present *sūtra* shows that in this case the word *makṣikā* also is an *upasarjana*. The present *sūtra* declares that the *pada,* which stands in the same *vibhakti* in the dissolution (even when the *vibhakti* of the other *pada* is changed) is to be considered *upasarjana*. Hence the word *makṣikā* must be considered here as *upasarjana*. But at the same time, the *sūtra* declares that such a *pada* will be *upasarjana* for all practical purposes except the *pūrvanipāta*. The rule about *purvanipāta* does not apply to it. Thus the

position now is *makṣikā+ām nir* = *nir makṣikā+ām* = *nir makṣikā* (by *sublopa* acc. *PA* 2.4.7).

605. At this point comes the present *sūtra* according to which the final vowel of the word *go* or of a word with fem. ending is shortened, provided they are *upasarjana*.

In this *sūtra strī* stands for *strīpratyayānta* word (by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*) and then by *tadantavidhi*, the *sūtra* is to be explained as is done by our author and shown above. Hence we get *nir makṣika* (+ *s* nom. sg. ending, which is substituted by *am* No. 602) = *nirmakṣikam*.

Illustrations for the next four items (of No. 598) with their *vigrahavākyas* given by our author are : *atihimam* (*himasya atyayaḥ*); *atinidram* (*nidrā samprati na yujyate*); *itihari* (*hariśabdasya prakāśaḥ*); and *anuviṣṇu* (*viṣṇoḥ paścāt*).

This brings us to the next item, namely *yathā;* and V, before giving illustrations, tells us the senses conveyed by *yathā*. They are four, namely *yogyatā, vīpsā, padārthānativṛtti* and *sādṛśya*. The illustrative compounds with their dissolutions respectively are: *anurūpam* (*rūpasya yogyam*); *pratyārtham* (*artham arthaṁ prati*); *yathāśakti* (*śaktim anatikramya*); and *sahari* (*hareḥ sādṛśyam*). Here it has to be observed that in *sahari* the word *saha* denotes *sādṛśya* and is thus *yathārtha* (conveying the sense of *yathā*). It is changed to *sa* by the following *sūtra*.

606. The words *sahasya* and *saḥ* are got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. Thus the *sūtra* sanctions the substitution of *saha* by *sa* in an *avyayībhāva* provided it

does not signify *kāla*. The expression *sahapūrvāhṇam* is given as a counter illustration. Hereafter our author has given illustrations with dissolutions for the remaining six items of No. 598 as follows:

anujyeṣṭham (*jyeṣṭhasyānupūrvyeṇa*); *sacakram* (*cakreṇa yugapat*); *sasakhi* (*sadṛśaḥ sakhyā*); *sakṣatram* (*kṣatrāṇāṃ saṁpattiḥ*); *satṛṇam* (*tṛṇamapy aparityajya*); *sāgni* (*agnigranthaparyantam*). In all these compounds the word *saha* denoting the various senses is substituted by *sa* by No. 606. Two points have further to be noted about the words *paścāt* and *yathā* in No. 598. Firstly, since the *sūtra* enjoins the *samāsa* by using the word *vacana*, it is indicated that the *avyayas* used in this *sūtra* themselves cannot form part of compounds. This is further shown by the fact that in the very next *sūtra* (*yathā'-sādṛśye*) P has laid down separately that *yathā* is compounded with a *subanta* except when it denotes *sādṛśya*. Hence it follows that *paścāt* cannot enter into a compound; while *yathā* may do so in senses other than *sādṛśya*. All these illustrations are to be similarly explained.

607. The *SK* here reads the *sūtra samāsāntāḥ* (*PA* 5.4.68) whereas V both in *LSK* as also in *SSK* reads the *sūtra taddhitāḥ* (*PA* 4.1.76). In *SK* the *adhikāra taddhitāḥ* is already mentioned in the *strīpratyaya* section. Both these are *adhikāra sūtras* having their sway as far as the end of the fifth chapter (of *PA*). It would thus appear that both these are necessary for a full understanding of the rules that follow. Our author appears to have taken the latter in preference to the former possibly in view of No. 610 below where the word *taddhite* has been used. What has to be remembered is that the *pratyayas* enjoined in the following two rules are both *taddhita* and *samāsānta*.

608. For *śaratprabhṛti* (*gaṇa*) see *GRM*. The suffix *ṭac* (= *a*) is appended to *śarad* etc. when standing at the end of an *avyayībhāva* compound. The illustrations are *upaśaradam* and *pratipaśam*. These compounds are formed acc. to No. 598 and are to be explained exactly like *upakṛṣṇam* with the additional application of the present rule.

609. This and the following *sūtras* are meant for *samāsas* like *uparājam* and *adhyātmam* in which the final member is a word ending in *n* or *an*. According to this *sūtra* such *avyayībhāva* compounds have the suffix *ṭac* (=*a*) appended to them. Thus starting with *rājan*+*ṅas upa* we come to the position *upa*+*rājan*+*a* (by appending *ṭac* by the present rule).

610. At this stage comes up this rule according to which the *ṭi* of a *bha* ending in *n* is elided when followed by a *taddhita* suffix. The technical terms *bha* and *ṭi* are defined by P as *yaci bham* (*PA* 1.4.18) and *aco'ntyādi ṭi* (*PA* 1.1.64) respectively. Accordingly *bha* means a base which is followed by a *taddhita* suffix beginning with *y* or a vowel (*ac*); while *ṭi* is the designation given to the last vowel in a base together with the following consonant or consonants if any. In the case under consideration *uparājan* is *bha* because it is followed by the vowel *a*; and *an* is *ṭi*. Now since *a* is *taddhita* the base *uparājan* will drop its *ṭi* (i.e. *an*) before it; and thus we shall get *uparāja* (+ *s*, *nom.* sg. ending). Then by No. 602, this *s* is substituted by *am* and ultimately we get *uparājam*. The compound *adhyātmam* also is to be similarly explained.

Here ends the treatment of *avyayībhāva*.

611. V begins his treatment of *tatpuruṣa* with this *sūtra* which is an *adhikārasūtra* having its sway as far as *PA* 2.2.33 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*. Like *avyayībhāva*, this *saṁjñā* also is in addition to the *saṁjñā samāsa* (see Notes on No. 596 above).

612. The designation *dvigu* is to be explained below. Here in this *sūtra* P has laid down that *dvigu* also is *tatpuruṣa*. This *sūtra* serves the purpose of making the *samāsānta* rules applicable to it; and that is why our author has taken this *sūtra* and not dropped it. (Read: *dvigos tatpuruṣatve samāsāntāḥ prayojanam, Kāś*).

613. From this *sūtra* starts the treatment of what is generally called *vibhakti tatpuruṣa* (i.e. *dvitīyā tatpuruṣa* etc). The word *dvitīyā* in this *sūtra* means *dvitīyāntam subantam* by *tadantavidhi* through *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*. It has further to be noted that the words *śrita* etc. in this *sūtra* stand for *śritādiprakṛtika subanta*. Lastly we have to note that all the compounds laid down after *PA* 2.1.11 (*vibhāṣā*) are optional. This has been indicated by our author by using the word *vā* in the *vṛtti*. In all the *vibhakti tatp*. compounds, the *vibhakti* (i.e. word ending in it) is stated by nom. and hence as *upasarjana* it is to be placed first. Thus *kṛṣṇa+am+śritaḥ = kṛṣṇaśritaḥ*. This holds good in the case of all the words except *prāpta* and *āpanna*. For, acc. to *PA* 2.2.4, these words being mentioned in nom. will also be *upasarjana* and hence stand first in the compound. Thus with these words the compounds will be *prāptajīvikaḥ* or *jīvikāprāptaḥ; āpannajīvikaḥ* or *jīvikāpannaḥ*.

614. The word *tṛtīyā* stands here for *tṛtīyāntam* (*samarthaṃ*) *subantam* (by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* and *adhikāra*). The pronoun *tat* (in *tatkṛtārtha* etc.) refers to what is denoted

by this *tṛtīyānta subanta* (*prakṛtaparāmarśitvāt*). The part *tatkṛta* (of the cpd word *tatkṛtārthena*) is to be understood as being *luptatṛtīyāka* and hence equivalent to *tatkṛtena* (=*tṛtiyāntārthakṛtena*). Thus what the present *sūtra* lays down is (1) A word in the instrumental is compounded with a word standing for a quality, when it is caused by what is denoted by it (i.e. the word in the instrumental); and (2) Secondly, a word in the instrumental is compounded with the word *artha*. In the former case the main condition is that the second word must be expressive of a *guṇa* (i.e. as *BM* has put it, must be *guṇopasarjanadravyavācī*). In the cpd. *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ,* which is meant to illustrate this part of the present *sūtra,* the word *khaṇḍa* is to be understood to mean *khaṇḍanakriyāvān,* and hence a word like *devadattaḥ* has to be understood after this *samāsa*. Pat himself has given the illustration as *śaṅkulākhaṇḍo devadattaḥ* (and not merely *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ*). Read: *guṇeneti siddhe vacanagrahaṇāt guṇopasarjanadravyavāciśabdo gṛhyate iti vyākhyānāt / śaṅkulayā khaṇḍaḥ śankulākhaṇḍa iti / devadatta iti śeṣaḥ / śaṅkulākhaṇḍo devadattaḥ ityeva bhāṣye udāhṛtam / khaḍi bhedane bhāve ghañ khaṇḍanaṁ khaṇḍaḥ / matvarthīyaḥ arśaādyac / śaṅkulayeti karaṇe tṛtīyā / śaṅkulākṛtakhaṇḍanakriyāvān ityrthaḥ/ BM*. The second part of this *sūtra* is illustrated by *dhānyena arthaḥ = dhānyārthaḥ,* in which *dhānyena* is *hetau* (and not *karaṇe*) *tṛtīya*. This aspect obviously is not covered up by the first one (where *karaṇe tṛtīyā* is required) and hence had to be separately noticed.

615. The word *tṛtīyā* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti,* and *kartṛkaraṇe* is loc. sg. of *kartṛkarṇa* (*samāhāra dvandva*). So also *kṛtā* means *kṛdantena*. Here it has to be noted that acc. to Pat. *kṛt* (=*kṛdanta*) here is to be restricted to *kta* (=*ktā*-

nta) only on the strength of the word *bahulam* used in this *sūtra*. Hence illustrations with *ktānta* alone (namely *haritrātaḥ* and *nakhabhinnaḥ*) are given.

As a general rule *tadantavidhi* is not applicable in a *samāsa-vidhi* (*cf. samāsapratyayavidhau tadantavidhipratiṣedhaḥ* - *BM*). Hence *kṛṣṇaṁ śritaḥ* = *kṛṣṇaśritaḥ* But we cannot have a compound out of *kṛṣṇaṁ paramaśritaḥ*. In the case of *kṛt*, however, we have a different *paribhāṣā*, namely *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam, Pbh* 29; and hence we have the cpds. *nakhabhinnaḥ* as also *nakhanirbhinnaḥ*.

616. The word *caturthī* means *caturthyantaṁ subantam*. The words *artha* etc. (like *śrita* etc. above) stand for *arthādiprakṛtika subanta*. *tadartha* = that which is meant for it (*tat* i.e. what is denoted by the word in dat.). Here it has to be noted that *tadartha* is meant to signify *prakṛtivikṛtibhāva* only (and not any other kind of *tādarthya*). Hence *yūpāya dāru* = *yūpadāru;* but *randhanāya sthālī* cannot form a compound. The compounds *aśvaghāsa* etc., which appear to go against this explanation of *tadartha* in this *sūtra*, are declared to be *ṣaṣṭhī* (and not *caturthi*) *samāsas*.

617. The word *artha* as a second member of tatp. cpd. has peculiarities of its own, which have been noted in this *vārttika*. All compounds, enjoined after *PA* 2.1.11 are optional, as has been already observed above. But the cpd. with *artha* is an exception to this; for it is a *nityasamāsa* (as shown by the fact that it is *asvapadavigraha*). Secondly, as a general rule the tatp. cpd. has the gender of its final member. (unless, of course, it is *asvapadavigraha*). But the cpd with *artha* (*artha* is not an adj.) takes the gender of the *viśeṣya* (i.e. the cpd becomes a

viśeṣaṇa). The illustrations are: *dvijārthaḥ* (*sūpaḥ*), *dvijārthā* (*yavāgūḥ*), and *dvijārthaṁ* (*payaḥ*), the *vigraha* being *dvijāya ayam, iyam,* and *idam* respectively.

The illustrations for the remaining items in No. 615 are given by our author as *bhūtabaliḥ, gohitam, gosukham,* and *gorakṣitam* respectively.

618. The word *pañcamī* is to be understood like *dvitīyā* etc. above. The illustration is *corabhayam* (*corād bhayam*). Three more words are capable of being compounded with a *pañcamyanta* word as can be seen from the *vārttika, bhayabhītabhītibhībhir iti vācyam.*

619. *ṣaṣṭhī* = *ṣaṣṭhyanta subanta.* The *sūtra* lays down that a word in gen. is optionally compounded with another *subanta.* The illustration is *rājapuruṣaḥ* (*rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*).

620. *saptamī* = *saptamyanta subanta.* The plr. *śauṇḍaiḥ* = *śauṇḍādibhiḥ* (*bahuvacananirdeśāt gaṇapāṭhācca,* says *BM.*). Illustration is *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* (*akṣeṣu śauṇḍaḥ*).

dvitīyātṛtīyetyādi: Having explained and illustrated the *sūtras* dealing with the *vibhakti tatpuruṣa,* our author draws our attention to certain compounds in which *dvitīyā* etc. appear to be compounded with words other than those mentioned in the respective *sūtras.* This, he suggests, can be justified by resorting to *yogavibhāga* and reading *dvitīyā, tṛtīyā,* etc. as separate *sūtras* by themselves. Thus read, on the basis of the *adhikāra* (in No. 593 above) *dvitīyā* would mean: *dvitīyāntaṁ subantam subantena samasyate sa tatpuruṣo bhavati.* This means that a word in acc. is compounded with a (i.e. any) *subanta.* This applies to all the case endings. But one must carefully

observe V's remark here namely *prayogavaśāt samāso jñeyaḥ*. This means that this device of *yogavibhāga* and the consequent explanation is to be resorted to only to account some how for the compound words going beyond the limits of the *sūtras*. This evidently is according to the maxim, *sthitasya gatiś cintanīyā*; and hence should not be used for coining fresh compounds.

621. The expression *diksaṁkhye* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*; and *samānādhikaraṇena* (*subantena*) is also similarly got. This *sūtra* lays down that words signifying *diś* or *saṁkhyā* may form a *tatpuruṣa* compound with another *subanta* (1) when the sense of a *taddhita* is intended to be conveyed, or (2) when some other word comes after that *subanta*, or (3) when *samāhāra* is expressed. Out of these three, the first two apply to *diś* as well as *saṁkhyā*; and the third applies to *saṁkhyā* alone. The respective illustrations for these as found in *SK* are: (1) *paurvaśālaḥ*; (2) *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ* and (3) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*. Here it must be noted that the *dikśabda* or *saṁkhyāśabda* with the following *subanta* alone forms the *tatpuruṣa* while the whole expression is either a *taddhita* (in 1) or a *bahuvrīhi* (in 2 and 3).

Now our author is explaining the first illustration, for which the *vigraha* is *pūrvasyāṁ śālāyāṁ bhavaḥ*. In this case the sense of *taddhita* (*ña* = *a*, acc. No. 29) is intended to be expressed and hence the *dikśabda pūrvā* forms a tatp. cpd. with the *subanta śālā* which is *samānādhikaraṇa* with it. Hence we get *pūrvā śālā*. At this stage V quotes Pat to show that in all *vṛttis* a pronoun assumes the masc. form. Hence the position now is *pūrva śālā*, which is to be followed by the *taddhita ña*.

622. This *sūtra* lays down that the suffix *ña* (=*a*) is appended to a compound expression having *dikśabda* for its first member, provided it does not convey a *saṁjñā*. Thus now the position is *pūrvaśālā*+*a*.

623. The words *acaḥ* and *ñṇiti* are got into this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. This *sūtra* lays down that before *ñit* and *ṇit* suffixes the first vowel of the base undergoes *vṛddhi*. Hence we now have *paurvaśālā*+*a*.

624. The word *bhasya* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* (*PA* 6.4.129). P has declared that the base will have the designation *bha* when it is followed by a suffix beginning with *y* or with a vowel (*PA* 1.4.18, *yaci bham*). Now the present *sūtra* lays down that the final vowel of a *bha* ending in *i* or *a* will be elided when followed by a *taddhita* suffix. In this *sūtra*, *yasya* is gen. of *ya* which stands for *i* and *a;* and these by *tadantavidhi* mean *ikārānta* and *akārānta bha*. It has further to be observed that *a* here signifies all the varieties of *a* (acc. *PA* 1.1.69). Hence in the case under consideration the final *ā* of *paūrvaśālā* is dropped; and finally we get the word *paurvaśālaḥ* (by appending *s* nom. sg.).

625. Our author passes over the second illustration (i.e. *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ*) because there is nothing peculiar about it and can be easily explained. Now turning to the third illustration (namely *pañcagavadhanaḥ*) he gives the *vigraha* as *pañca gāvo dhanaṁ yasya* (as a *tripada bahuvrīhi*). Then to explain the formation itself he takes up the present *vārttika*. Acc. to this *vārttika,* when a *dvandva* or *tatpuruṣa* compound is followed by an *uttara pada* (i.e. is to be compounded with a third *pada*) the compound is *nitya*. Ordinarily we have seen

that all *samāsas* laid down after *PA* 2.1.11 are optional. The present *vārttika* draws attention to the fact that this option is not available in cases where *uttara pada* follows. By this *vārttika* our author indicates that in the case under consideration *pañcan* and *go* when followed by the word *dhana,* must form a (*tatpuruṣa*) *samāsa*. And now comes up the question of actual formation of the compound.

626. For this, the present *sūtra* is required. In this *sūtra* *goḥ* (abl. sg. of *go*) by *tadantavidhi* stands for *go'ntāt* (*tatpuruṣāt,* got by *anuvṛtti*) and *samāsāntaḥ* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 5.4.68). Thus this *sūtra* means that the suffix *ṭac* (got by *anuvṛtti*) is appended to a tatp. cpd. ending in the word *go,* provided there is no elision of a *taddhita* suffix after it. Hence now the position would be *pañcan+go+a* (*dhana*).

627. At th's stage the designation *dvigu* is necessary before further operation takes place. Hence V takes up this and the next *sūtras* laying down the designations *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu*.

This *sūtra* declares that a *tatpuruṣa* whose members are *samānādhikaraṇa* is *karmadhāraya*.

628. This *sūtra* further lays down that if such a *tatpuruṣa* has *saṁkhyā* for its first member, it will be designated *dvigu*. Here our author makes it clear that this *sūtra* is to be understood with reference to No. 621, so much so that all the varieties noticed in that *sūtra* having *saṁkhyā* for the first member will have the designation *dvigu*. Thus in the present case *pañcan+go+a* (*dhana*) will be *dvigu*. Now *pañca+go+a* = *pañcagava*.

629. This *sūtra* lays down that a *dvigu* conveys the sense of *samāhāra* and is always singular.

630. In this *sūtra* P has laid down that a compound conveying the sense of *samāhāra* will be neuter. Hence now the *samāhāra* finally would be *pañcagavam*, the *vigraha* being *pañcānāṁ gavāṁ samāhāraḥ*, And then with *dhana*, it will be *pañcagavadhanaḥ* (with which we started in No. 624).

631. In No. 626 *karmadhāraya* has been defined. Now V starts dealing with it. For P's *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* our author has used the word *bhedaka* and *bhedya*, to suggest that these terms are not used in their narrower senses. The word *samānādhikaraṇena* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* (or *anuvṛtti*). So a *bhedaka* with a *samānādhikaraṇa bhedya* forms a *karmadhāraya*. By *PA* 2.1.11 (*vibhāṣā*), this *samāsa* should be optional like other *samāsas*. But P has purposely used the word *bahulam* in this *sūtra* to indicate that sometimes it is *nitya* while in some cases it is not so. Thus in the illustration given by V, we can have the *samāsa* optionally and can say *nīlotpalam* or *nīlam utpalam*. But the word *kṛṣṇasarpa* is a *nityasamāsa* (because it has no *vigraha*); while in cases like *rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ* no *samāsa* is admissible. cf (*vāgrahaṇena siddhe bahulagrahaṇaṁ vyavasthārtham, Kāś*).

632. In this *sūtra* also *samānādhikaraṇaiḥ* is got as in the previous *sūtra*. The word *sāmānyavacana* is explained by *BM* as *pūrvaṁ sāmānyam uktvā tadvati dravye ye paryavasyanti te sāmānyavacanāḥ*. In the illustration *ghanaśyāma*, the word *śyāma* primarily denotes the *sāmānya* (= *sādhāraṇa dharma*) and then *tadviśiṣṭa upameya* or *dravya*.

633. In this *sūtra* P has laid down what are known as *ekadeśisamāsas* (which form an exception to the *ṣaṣṭhī*

tatpuruṣa). It is further to be noted that *ekādhikaraṇe* is quite different from *samānādhikaraṇe* and means when the *ekadeśin* (i.e. the *avayavin*) is *eka* (*ekatvasaṁkhyāviśiṣṭa*). The words *pūrva* etc. are mentioned by the compound expression in nom. sg. (*samāhāradvandva*) and hence have to be placed first in the compounds thus formed. The illustrations are *pūrvakāyaḥ* (*pūrvaṁ kāyasya, vigraha*) and *aparakāyaḥ*. The gender here is determined by *PA* 2.4.26.

In *pūrvaś chātrāṇām*, the *ekadeśin* (i.e. *chātra*) is not *ekādhikaraṇa*. Hence this *sūtra* cannot apply to it; and no compound can be formed.

634. This *sūtra* lays down a similar *samāsa* of the word *ardha* (neuter) with the *ekadeśin*, when it is *ekādhikaraṇa*. Our author tells us that *ardha* (= exact half) is always neuter. The illustration is *ardhapippalī* (*vigraha* is *ardhaṁ pippalyāḥ*). Here also *ardha* is *upasarjana;* and hence placed first. Here it must be observed that acc. No. 604 above, *pippalī* would be *upasarjana* and then acc. No. 605 its final vowel will have to be shortened. But this does not happen, because the *saṁjñā upasarjana* is prohibited in the case of *ṣaṣṭhī* by the *vārttika, ekavibhaktāvaṣaṣṭhyantavacanam*. Hence the compound formed is *ardhapippalī* only.

635. This is a *vārttika* laying down the formation of what are generally referred to as *madhyamapadalopin* (*karmadhāraya*) *samāsa*. In the illustration, *śākapriya* (which itself is a *bahuvrīhi* cpd.) is compounded with *pārthiva;* and since these are *bhedya* and *bhedaka* respectively, they can form a *karmadhāraya* acc. to No. 631. But this *vārttika* lays down that in such cases the latter member of the *pūrva pada*

(in its original cpd. form) will be dropped. Hence by dropping the word *priya,* the compound becomes *śākapārthiva.* Similarly out of *devapūjako brāhmaṇaḥ* we get *devabrāhmaṇaḥ.* This *vārttika* has been included by Pat under *PA* 2.2.9, *varṇo varṇena.*

636. This *sūtra* deals with *nañ* (*tatpuruṣa*) compound. The word *supā* (= *subantena*) is got by *anuvṛtti* and then the *sūtra* is to be explained like the other *sūtras.* So we take the illustration: *na brāhmaṇaḥ.*

637. Acc. to this *sūtra* the *n* of *nañ* is dropped when it is followed by another word. The word *uttarapade* is got here by *adhikāra* (from *PA* 6.3.1). Hence we get *abrāhmaṇaḥ* (with *s* of nom. sg. appended to it).

638. Now we take up the case *na aśvaḥ,* which by No. 637 will be *a aśvaḥ.* Here comes up the present *sūtra* according to which the augment *nuṭ* (=*n*) is appended, when after it (i.e. after the *nañ* with its *n* elided) comes up a word beginning wth a vowel. The *anubandha ṭ* shows clearly that it is to be prefixed. But to what is it to be prefixed? As a general rule the base to which the *āgama* is to be appended is mentioned in gen. (cf. *PA* 7.2.25; 7.3.40, etc.). But in this *sūtra* there is no word in gen. and hence crops up the question noted above. *BM* solves this question by mentioning a *paribhāṣā* acc. to which when both abl. and loc. occur together in a rule, the former is to be considered stronger, because it is *para.* This means that in such cases loc. is not used in its usual sense. This makes it possible to understand loc. in the sense of gen. (the case which is used to indicate the base of an *āgama*). Thus we come to the conclusion that

in the present case *n* is to be appended (i.e. prefixed) to the *uttara pada* (i.e. its initial vowel). Read: *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyān paratvāt iti paribhāṣayā saptamī ṣaṣṭhīṁ prakalpayati/ BM*. Hence finally we get *a n aśvaḥ* = *anaśvaḥ*. Now we can understand how our author has rightly explained loc. *aci* by *gen.* (*uttarpadasya*) *ajādeḥ*.

639. The word *nityam* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. Accordingly this *sūtra* lays down that the word *ku,* and the *gati* and the *prādi* words form *nitya* (i.e. *asvapadavigraha*) *samāsa* with a *samartha subanta*. The illustration for *ku* is *kupuruṣaḥ* (its *vigraha* being *kutsitaḥ puruṣaḥ*). Now before taking up illustrations for *gati* and *prādi* we must know what they are. *Prādis* are, of course, the 22 (or 24) *nipātas* noticed by P in *PA* 1.4.58. Then in *PA* 1.4.59 and 60 P tells that these *prādis* have the designation *upasarga* and also *gati,* when they are connected with *kriyā*. And further in *PA* 1.4.60-79 P has noticed certain words which have the designation *gati* (under particular circumstances).

640. We have seen that *pra* etc. are *gati* when connected with *kriyā*. Now the present *sūtra* also lays down the *saṁjñā gati* for *ūryādi* words, for words ending in *cvi* suffix (by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā* we obtain *tadantavidhi*) and formations with *ḍāc*. For *ūryādigaṇa* see GRM. 2.96f.

Illustrations for these respectively are: *ūrīkṛtya, śuklīkṛtya,* and *paṭapaṭākṛtya*. These are illustrations for *gati*. The illustration for *prādi* is *supuruṣaḥ*.

641. Now our author takes up the *sūtra* dealing with *upapada samāsa*. P has defined *upapada* in *PA* 3.1.92 as a word that is mentioned in the *sūtra* (laying down a *kṛt*

pratyaya) in loc. In the present *sūtra* also the word *nityam* is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* also lays down that an *upapada* will form a *nitya* (= *asvapadavigraha*) *samāsa* with a *samartha* (*pada* which is) not a *tiṅ* (i.e. *tiṅanta*). This means that though a *tiṅanta* is used in the *vigraha*, the compound will never end in a *tiṅanta*. In the illustration *kumbhakāra*, *kumbha* is *upapada* (because it is *karman* of *kāra* and the word *karman* is mentioned in loc. in *karmaṇy aṇ* *PA* 3.2.1); and *kāra* is an *aṇ* formation from √*kṛ* in the sense of *karoti*. Thus the *alaukika vigraha* would be *kumbha+am+kāra* while the statement *kumbhaṁ karoti iti* is used only to convey that sense, and cannot be said to be the *vigrahavākya* in the strict sense of the term.

In order to bring out the significance or need of the word *atiṅ* in this *sūtra*, V takes the statement *mā bhavān bhūt*, and points out that since *mā* is mentioned in loc. in *PA* 3.3.175, *māṅi luṅ*, it has the designation *upapada*. But it will not form a compound with the *luṅ* form (*bhūt*), because compounding of an *upapada* is admitted with words other than a *tiṅanta* (by the word *atiṅ* in the present *sūtra*).

642. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ac* as *samāsānta* (by the *adhikāra* in *PA* 5.4.68) to the word *rātri* when it comes after *ahan* (in *dvandva*) and after *sarva* etc. (in *tatpuruṣa*). To illustrate *ahan* followed by *rātri*, we have the position *ahan s ca rātriḥ ca* = *ahar rātri a* = *ahorātr a* (*i* elided by *yasyeti ca*, No. 624) = *ahorātra*.

643. Now this *samāsa* comes under the *sūtra jātir aprāṇinām* and hence must be singular; while No. 630 above would make it neuter. But that rule is set aside by the present *sūtra*

acc. to which tatp. cpds. ending in *rātra, ahna* and *aha* are masc. in gender. Hence the nom. sg. of the cpd. thus formed will be *ahorātraḥ*. Similarly may be explained the illustrations for other items in No. 642. They are *sarvarātraḥ, pūrvarātraḥ* (*ekadeśa*), *saṁkhyātarātraḥ*, and *puṇyarātraḥ*. In all these the compound is masc. in gender by No. 643 (this rule); and the *puṁvadbhāva* of the first member is acc. to *PA* 6.3.42, *puṁvatkarmadhāraya* etc.

644. In his *vṛtti* on No. 642 our author has brought out the force of *ca* in that rule in the words: *cāt saṁkhyāvyayādeḥ*. Thus *rātri* will be changed to *rātra* when it comes after *saṁkhyā* (a numeral) and *avyaya*. To illustrate *saṁkhyā* our author takes the cpd. *dvirātram*. In this case the cpd. is not masc. (by No. 643) but neut. acc. to the rule *saṁkhyāpūrvaṁ rātraṁ klībam*. The word (*rātri* changed to) *rātra*, when preceded by a *saṁkhyā* in a *samāsa*, is neuter in gender. This explains the gender of cpds. like *dvirātram*.

Illustration for *avyayapūrva* compound with *rātri* is *atirātraḥ* which is to be explained on the basis of No. 643 above.

645. This *sūtra* also lays down *ṭac* (=*a*) as *sāmāsānta* (see *adhikāra, samāsāntāḥ*) for tatp. cpd. ending in *rājan, ahan,* and *sakhi* (*tadantavidhi*). An illustration for this rule is *paramarājaḥ*. In this case the *ṭi* of *paramarājan* is dropped when the suffix *ṭac* is appended, acc. to No. 610 above. Our author does not give illustrations for *ahan* and *sakhi*. Bh. in his *SK* gives them as *uttamāhaḥ* and *kṛṣṇasakhaḥ* respectively. In the former we have to note that the word *ahan* has dropped its *ṭi* and this is acc. to *PA* 6.4.145.

646. In this *sūtra* the word *uttarapada* comes in by *adhikāra* and qualifies *samānādhikaraṇa* (*pada*). It cannot be construed

with *jātīya* because it is only a suffix. Thus the *sūtra* lays down the *antādeśa* (see *PA* 1.1.52) *ā* for the word *mahat* when followed by a *samānādhikaraṇa pada* or by *jātīya*. The illustration for the former is *mahārājaḥ*, which is to be explained as follows. *mahat+s rājan+s* = *mahat+rajan* = *mahaā rājan* = *mahārājan+a* (by No. 645) = *mahārāj+a* (*ṭilopa* by No. 610) = *mahārājaḥ* (masc. nom. sg.). The illustration for the latter is *mahājātīyaḥ* which can be similarly explained.

647. In this *sūtra* also *uttarapada* is got by *adhikāra* and qualifies *saṁkhyāyām*. This *sūtra* lays down the *antādeśa ā* (by *anuvṛtti*) for *dvi* and *aṣṭan* when followed by a *samānādhikaraṇa saṁkhyā* (*pada*). This substitution does not take place in a *bahuvrīhi* cpd. or when the *uttara pada* is *aśīti*. The illustrations respectively are *dvādaśa* and *aṣṭāviṁśatiḥ*. Our author dissolves the former as *dvyadhikā deśa* (*tatpuruṣa*) while *BM* dissolves it like this or even as *dvau ca daśa ca* (*dvandva*). The cpd. *aṣṭāviṁśati* is dissolved by *BM* as *aṣṭādhikā viṁśatiḥ* (*tatpuruṣa*) or *aṣṭau ca viṁśatiś ca* (*samāhāradvandva*, not neut. (by No. 630), but fem. by usage. (cf. *sa napuṁsakam iti klībatvaṁ tu na, kintu strītvaṁ lokāt*).

648. In this *sūtra* P lays down that a *dvandva* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound will have the gender of the final member (*uttarapada*). This is illustrated by *kukkuṭamayūryau* (fem.) or *mayūrīkukkuṭau* (masc.) for *dvandva*, and by *ardhapippalī* (for *tatpuruṣa*).

649. This is a *vārttika* which lays down that when no specific indication of gender is available, neuter gender shall be used. Two illustrations are given. In *mṛdu pacati*, *mṛdu* is acc. sg. of

mṛdu (neut.); while in *prātaḥ kamanīyam*, the word *kamanīya* is in neuter. In both these, neuter gender is used because the words accompanying them are not capable of giving any indication of a definite gender.

Thus ends the treatment of *tatpuruṣa*.

650. The word *prathmāntam* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* (*śeṣa* = *prathamāntam* in *PA* 2.2.23). Thus the present *sūtra* means: more words than one, standing in nom. and expressing *anyapadārtha*, when compounded together form a *bahuvrīhi*. It has to be observed here that a *bahuvrīhi* cpd. has the capacity to convey the sense of any *vibhakti* except the nominative. Read: *prathamārtham ekaṁ varjayitvā sarveṣu vibhaktyartheṣu bahuvrīhir bhavati*, *Kāś*. Hence V has given six illustrations (one for each case from acc. upto loc.). In all these, it has to be noted, the constituent members are *prathamānta* (i.e. in the same case) and hence this sort of *bahuvrīhi* is often known as *samānādhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi*. Also read: *aprathamāvibhaktyarthe bahuvrīhir iti samānādhikaraṇānām iti ca phalitam*, Bh. *SK*. Our author has given the *vigrahavākya*, the *samāsa*, and the *anyapadārtha* conveyed by it in serial order. Thus *prāptam udakaṁ yam* is the *vigraha; prāptodakaḥ* is the *samāsa* formed; and *grāmaḥ* is the *anya padārtha* conveyed or referred to. This is *dvitīyārthe bahuvrīhi* as shown by the word *yam* in the *vigraha*.

651. In this *sūtra*, *saptamī* means *saptamyanta* (by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*) and *pūrvam* is got by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding *sūtra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that in a *bahuvrīhi* cpd. the word in loc. or the *viśeṣaṇa* must be placed first. This explains why in the illustrations given above, the words *prāpta*, *ūḍha*, etc. are placed first. They are all *viśeṣaṇas*.

The illustration for *saptamī* is *kaṇṭhekālaḥ*, for which, however, the following *sūtra* is needed.

652. The word *aluk* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti*. By *PA* 2.4.71, the case-endings of the *padas* of a compound are to be elided. But the present *sūtra* lays down that loc. case-ending after a *pada* (in a compound) ending in *a* or in a consonant is not elided. Thus when we form a cpd. from the *vigraha kaṇṭhe kālaḥ yasya, kaṇṭhe* will not drop its loc. ending and will be placed first. Thus the cpd. will be *kaṇṭhekālaḥ*.

In No. 650 P has spoken of *samānādhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi* only; but he has nowwhere spoken of *vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi*. But the fact that he has made a rule pertaining to a *bahuvrīhi* in which the first member stands in loc. (and the second in nom.) indicates that such a variety (i.e. *vyadhikaraṇa*) was known to and admitted by him. This is what our author means When he remarks: *ata eva jñāpakāt* etc.

It must, however, be noted that it is possible to dissolve the cpd. *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* as *kaṇṭhesthaḥ kālaḥ yasya* (on the strength of the *vārttika*, *saptamyupamānapūrvapadasya bahuvrīhir uttarapadalopaś ca*) and in that case the present *sūtra* cannot be said to be *jñāpaka* of *vyadhikaraṇa* variety of *bahuvrīhi*. (Read: *BM* and *Mbh* on *PA*. 2.2.24). One more thing to be noted here is that this *sūtra* applies only when and if the cpd formed is a *saṁjñā*. In the *Kāśikā* on *PA* 2.1.44, *saṁjñā* is defined as *samudāyopādhi*, with the further remark: *tena nityasamāsa evāyam / nahi vākyena saṁjñā gamyate*. For further details see K. V. Abhyankar, *DSG. P.* 375.

653. In this *sūtra*, the word *bhāṣitapuṁskādanūṅ* is to be understood as a *bahuvrīhi* with the non-elision of *pañcamī* in

the *pūrvapada* and elision of *ṣaṣṭhī* of the compound itself. The *vigraha* given by *BM* is *bhāṣitapuṁskāt* (*paraḥ*) *anūṅ yasya* (*tasya striyāḥ = strīvācakasya*).

The word *bhāṣitapuṁska* is explained by *BM* as *bhāṣitaḥ pumān yena tad bhāṣitapuṁskam / tad asyāstīti arśa ādyac/puṁstve strītve caikapravṛttinimittakam iti yāvat/*. Thus the expression means a word whose application to males as well as females is governed by the same factor or *pravṛttinimitta*. Thus, for example, the word *rūpavat* (fem. *rūpavatī*) is applied to man or woman on account of the same circumstance, namely possession of *rūpa* (beauty). The loc. *striyām* means when a word of the fem. gender follows. Thus now the *sūtra* lays down that a *bhāṣitapuṁska* feminine word, not having the (fem. suffix) *ū* appended to it, when followed by a fem. word in the same case, will have the form of the masculine (*puṁvadbhāva*). This rule, however, does not apply to *pūranī* (fem. ordinals) and the words of the *priyādigaṇa*. Two illustrations have been given. In *citraguḥ* the word *citrā* is *bhāṣitapuṁska anūṅ strī* and it is followed by *samānādhikaraṇa strī*, namely *go*. Hence by this rule, *citrā* has *puṁvadbhāva* (i.e. it becomes *citra*) and *go* is changed to *gu* (by No. 605 above, the *hrasva* of *o* being *u* acc. to *eca ig hrasvādeśe*, *PA* 1.1.48); and ultimately we have the cpd. *citraguḥ*. The cpd. *rūpavadbhāryaḥ* can be similarly explained. To illustrate the need of the expression *apūraṇīpriyādiṣu*, our author gives the cpd *kalyāṇīpriyaḥ;* but he avoids giving illustration for *pūraṇī*. For that would require the inclusion in this work of one more *sūtra*, namely *PA* 5.4.116. The illustration for it is *kalyaṇīpañcamāḥ* (*rātrayaḥ*).

654. In this *sūtra* the word *samāsānta* is got by *adhikāra* (*PA* 5.4.68). The genitive *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* stands for ablative

and the expression means *sakthyakṣyantād* (*bahuvrīheḥ*) by *tadantavidhi*. This *sūtra* thus lays down the *samāsānta ṣac* (=*a*) for a *bahuvrīhi* ending in *sakthi* or *akṣi*, both signifying part of a body (*svāṅga*). To illustrate this our author gives *dīrghasakthaḥ*, the *vigraha* being *dīrghe sakthinī yasya saḥ*.

655. In this *sūtra* P lays down that the consonant *ṣ* standing at the beginning of a suffix is mute. (The words *ādiḥ* and *it* are got by *anuvṛtti*). The letter *c* is, of course, *it* by *PA* 1.3.3. Thus the *samāsānta* is *a* only. Now *dīrghe* has *puṁvadbhāva* by No. 653; *sakthi* drops its final *i* and with *a* added, the final form of the cpd is *dīrghasakthaḥ*. To illustrate *akṣi*, our author takes the cpd. *vāmākṣī* (*vāma* + *akṣi*) which is to be similarly explained. The only additional point to be noted is the fem. suffix *ṅīṣ* (=ī) which is appended to this compound because it ends in a *ṣit pratyaya* (*PA* 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaśca*).

656. This *sūtra* also lays down the *samāsānta kap* (=*a*) for *bahuvrīhi* compounds ending in *uras* etc. (*tadantavidhi*). Illustrations are *vyūḍhoraskaḥ* and *priyasarpiṣkaḥ*. In both these cpds. the words *vyūḍha* and *priya* are placed first by No. 651.

657. In this *sūtra* P lays down that *samāsānta kap* (=a) shall be optionally appended to all such compounds for which no *samāsānta* has been expressly laid down (*śeṣa*). The illustration is *mahāyaśaskaḥ* or *mahāyaśāḥ* (the change of *mahat* to *mahā* takes place by No. 646).

Thus ends the treatment of *bahuvrīhi*.

658. In this *sūtra* the word anekam (*subantam*) is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus the *sūtra* means that two or more words convey-

ing the sense of *ca* are optionally compounded; and the compound thus formed is named *dvandva*.

Here our author gives the senses conveyed by *ca*. They are: (1) *samuccaya,* (2) *anvācaya,* (3) *itaretarayoga,* and (4) *samāhāra*. *Samuccaya* means putting together in one context more than one things, which are totally independent of one another; e.g. *īśvaraṁ guruṁ ca bhaja,* where *īśvara* and *guru* who are *parasparanirapekṣa* are connected with one verb, namely *bhaja* as its objects. *Anvācaya* accurs when, of the things brought into one context, one is incidental (*ānuṣaṅgika*); e.g. *bhikṣām aṭa gāṁ cānaya*. *Itaretarayoga* is bringing two or more things in one context together or in a group: e.g. *dhavakhadirau chindhi,* where *dhava* and *khadira* are connected with the *chedanakriyā* as its object not separately or independently of one another, but together. Finally *samāhāra* means *samūha*, collection or group (i.e. forming one unit out of several things): e.g. *saṁjñāparibhāṣam* where two separate ideas, namely *saṁjñās* and *paribhāṣās* are put together to form one group. Now our author tells us that the first and the second of the *cārthas* are not amenable to *samāsa,* for want of *sāmarthya* (*ekārthībhāva*) (which is necessary for a *samāsa* acc. to *PA* 2.1.1). It, therefore, follows that only the remaining two can give us the *dvandva* compound, which, therefore, naturally falls into two varieties, named after the *cārtha* conveyed by them.

659. This and the following two *sūtras* deal with the *itaretarayoga dvandva* and lay down the *pūrvanipāta* of some words. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that in *rājadanta* and other compounds that, which by a general rule should be placed first, will be placed last. In *rājadanta* (*dantānāṁ rājā*), *danta* standing in gen. is *upasarjana* (acc. No. 599) and hence must be

placed first. But that rule is superseded by the present *sūtra* and it is placed last. For *hājadantādigaṇa* see GRM. 2.78-88.

660. This *sūtra* also is to be similarly explained. In *dvandva* cpds. *ghi* is to be placed first. For *ghi* see *PA* 1.4.7. The illustration is *hariharau.*

661. This *sūtra* lays down that a word beginning with a vowel and ending in *a* should be placed first. The illustration is *īśakṛṣṇau.*

662. In this *sūtra* the word *aṅga,* standing at the end of a *dvandva* compound, is to be connected with each member of the compound, acc. to the rule *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṁ padaṁ pratyekam abhisaṁbadhyate.* Thus the *sūtra* means: words expressive of the parts of animals, instruments and army are compounded into a *samāhāradvandva.* Naturally this *sūtra* has three illustrations. They are: *pāṇipādam, mārdaṅgikapāṇavikam,* and *rathikāśvāroham* respectively.

663. This *sūtra* lays down the *samāsānta ṭàc* (got by *anuvṛtti*) for *samāhāradvandva* compounds ending in *cu* (letters of *cavarga*) and the letters *d, ṣ,* and *h.* The illustrations are *vāktvacam* (*samāhāra* owing to *prāṇyaṅga*), *tvaksrajam, śāmīdṛṣadam, vāktviṣam,* and *chatropānaham,* all *samāhāradvandvas.* This *samāsānta* is available only in a *samāhāra.* Hence when no *samāhāra* is expressed it cannot be appended, as for example, in *prāvṛṭśaradau* (which is an *itaretaradvandva samāsa*).

Here ends the treatment of *dvandva.*

664. In this *sūtra* *ānakṣe* = *a anakṣe.* Furthermore, by *tadantavidhi, ṛk* etc. mean *samāsas* ending in *ṛk* etc Thus this *sūtra* lays down the *samāsānta a* (by *adhikāra PA* 5.4.68)

for compounds having *ṛk* etc. for their final member. This holds good in the case of the word *dhur*, only if it (i.e. *dhur*) is not connected with (or does not pertain to) *akṣa*. V proceeds to illustrate and starts with *ardharca*. This is to be explained as follows: *ṛc+aḥ ardham = ardha ṛc+a* (by this rule) = *ardharcaḥ* (masc. acc. to *PA* 2.4.31). But we may also have neuter *ardharcam*. The next illustration is: *viṣṇoḥ pūḥ = viṣnu+pur+a* (by this rule) = *viṣṇupura*. Nom. sg. would be *viṣṇupuram* (neut. and not fem. as expected acc. to *PA* 2.4.26). Bh. remarks *klībatvam lokāt*. The third illustration is *vimalāpam* (*saraḥ*), *vimalāḥ āpaḥ yasmin* is the *vigraha*. The fourth illustration is: *rājñaḥ dhūḥ = rājan dhur a = raja dhura = rājadhura + ā* (i.e. *ṭāp* by No. 194 above) = *rājadhurā*. The compound is feminine because the final member is feminine. By way of counter examples are given the compounds *akṣadhūḥ* (*tatpuruṣa*) and *dṛḍhadhūḥ* (*akṣaḥ, bahuvrīhi*), in both of which *dhur* is connected with *akṣa* and hence does not get the *samāsānta a*. Illustrations for *pathin* are : *sakhipathaḥ* (*ṣaṣṭhī tatpuruṣa*), where before the *samāsānta a, pathin* drops its *ṭi* by *PA* 6.4.144; and *ramyapathaḥ* (a *bahuvrīhi* to be explained as above).

665. The word *samāsāntāḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *adhikāra* (*PA* 5.4.68). Thus the *sūtra* prohibits the appending of the *samāsānta pratyayas* to words coming (in compounds) after words expressing honour or veneration. The illustrations are *surājā* and *atirājā* in both of which we see that the *samāsānta ṭac* by No. 645 above has not been appended.

666. This appears to be a *vārttika*. But *BM* gives the *vārttika* as *pūjāyāṁ svatigrahaṇaṁ kartavyam*. Thus the

prohibition of *samāsānta* does not apply to words other than *su* and *ati*. Hence it is appended in them. Thus we have *paramaś cāsau rājā ca = paramarājaḥ*.

667. In this *sūtra* P has sanctioned highly irregular compounds like *pṛṣodara* etc. (for this *gaṇa* see *GRM*) on the basis of currency among the *śiṣṭas* (the elite). Here our author gives a famous couplet which gives and illustrates the four kinds of irregular modifications that the bases or words undergo in the formation of (words or) compounds. Thus in *haṁsa* we have *varṇāgama*. *BM* derives this word in two ways (1) from √*has* in which case there is *āgama 'anusvāra'*; or (2) from √han when there is *āgama s*, before which the *n* of the root is changed to *anusvāra* acc. *PA* 8.3.24, *naścāpadāntasya*. In both the cases the suffix appended is *ac* (acc. *PA* 3.1.134). The word *siṁha* (illustration for *varṇaviparyaya*) is derived from √*hiṁs* with the addition of *ac* (*PA* 3.1.134). Here *num* is added (by *PA* 7.1.58), *n* is changed to *anusvāra* (as above) and *s* and *h* change places. The third modification is *varṇavikṛti*, which is illustrated by *gūḍhotmā*. This is a *bahuvrīhi* compound dissolved as *gūdhaḥ ātmā yasya*. The compound would be *gūḍha* + *ātmā*. But the initial *ā* of *ātmā* is changed to *u* and then by *PA* 6.1.87 we get *gūḍhotmā* (instead of *gūḍhātmā*). The word *pṛṣodaram* illustrates the last item, *varṇanāśa*. It is a *karmadhāraya* compound in which the first member drops its final consonant *t* and then by *saṁdhi* acc. to *PA* 6.1.87 we get *pṛṣa+udara = pṛṣodara*.

The above explanation of the couplet shows that only the last two illustrations are compounds. But this need not be supposed as indicating that only those two changes pertain

to *samāsas*. In fact all the four (and perhaps several others) are noticeable in compounds.

It may further be observed that in the *Kāśikā* we get a couplet which mentions five modes of *niruktam* (derivation), four of which are identical with the changes mentioned in the present couplet. The couplet in the *Kaśikā* is :

varṇāgamo varṇaviparyayaś ca
dvau cāparau varṇavikāranāśau/
dhātos tadarthātiśayena yogas
taducyate pañcavidhaṁ niruktam //

Kāśikā on *PA* 6.3.109.

Thus ends the treatment of *samāsas*.

668. All the words in this *sūtra* are *adhikṛta* and have their sway as far as *PA* 5.3.1 (*prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*).

669. This also is an *adhikārasūtra* having its sway as far as *PA* 4.4.2, *tena dīvyati*. From here upto that *sūtra* the suffix *aṇ* is to be understood as *adhikṛta* (along with the preceding *sūtra*). Here it has to be observed that these two *sūtras* so to say from the general rule according to which (1) the suffix *aṇ* is laid down in such of the following *sūtras* as do not specifically enjoin any specific suffix (*viśeṣa pratyaya*); and (2) in *sūtras* where the base (for the suffix enjoined) is not stated, it is to be understood on the basis of No. 668 (namely *samarthānāṁ prathamādvā*). In those *sūtras*, however, where the suffix is specifically enjoined, the suffix *aṇ* (generally laid down by this *sūtra*) does not apply. Read: *tathā ca tasyāpatyam ityādyuttarasūtreṣu kevalam arthanirdeśapareṣu*

vidheyapratyayaviśeṣāsaṁyukteṣu kiṁ bhavatītyākāṅkṣāyām aṇ ityupatiṣṭhata iti labhyate/ kasmād bhavatītyākāṅkṣāyāṁ samarthāt prathamāt iti prakṛtiviśeṣo labhyate/ yatra tu vidheyaḥ pratyayaviśeṣaḥ śrūyate tatra aṇ iti nopa'tiṣṭhate, aṇ ityasya autsargikatayā vaiśeṣikeṇa iñadinā bādhāt/ BM.

670. This *sūtra* lays down specifically the suffix *ṇya* (=*ya*) and hence the suffix *aṇ* does not apply here (as has been explained above). Here it has to be observed that this suffix *ṇya* is appended to the bases mentioned here to convey the *prāgdīvyatīya* senses (i.e. the senses conveyed by the suffixes enjoined by P in *PA* 4.3.132-166). These suffixes have been put together by Bh. in his *SK* under the heading *prāgdīvyatīyaprakaraṇa.*

Illustrations respectively are : *daitya* (from *diti*), *āditya* (from *aditi* or *āditya*), and *prājāpatya* (from *prajāpati* which is a *patyuttarapada* base). The formation *daitya* is to be explained as follows: *diti+ya* = *daiti+ya* (by *PA* 7.1.117) *dait ya* (by *PA* 6.4.148) = *daitya*. The formations *āditya* and *prājāpatya* are to be similarly explained.

671. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *añ* (=*a*) for *utsa* etc. (for *utsādi gaṇa* see *GRM* 4.254 ff.) in the *prāgdīvyatīya* senses (by *adhikāra*). In the illustration *autsa,* the first vowel undergoes *vṛddhi* (by *PA* 7.2.117) and the final *a* (of *utsa*) is elided before *añ* (by *PA* 6.4.148).

672. This is a *vārttika* laying down the suffix *yañ* (=*ya*) causing *vṛddhi* in the base (by *PA* 7.2.117) and eliding its *ṭi* (for definition of *ṭi* see *PA* 1.1.64) before it. Thus *bahis+ya* = *bāh+ya* = *bāhya*. Here the elision of *ṭi* ordinarily should occur by *PA* 7.1.88 (*bhasya ṭer lopaḥ*). But

this *ṭilopa* is not obligatory in the case of *avyayas* as can be seen from formations like *ārātīya* (from *ārāt* + *īya*) and hence here *ṭilopa* has been particularly enjoined. Read: *ṭilopavacanam avyayānām bhamātre ṭilopasyānityatvajñāpanārtham/ Kāś.* on this *vārttika* under *PA* 4.1.85.

673. This is another *vārttika* laying down the suffix *īkak* (=*īka*). Now this suffix has a mute *k* appended to it. The operation indicated by mute *k* is noticed in the following *sūtra*.

674. In this *sūtra*, *acām ādeḥ* (*acaḥ vṛddhiḥ*) is got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus *bahiṣ*+*īka* = *bāhiṣ*+*īka* = *bāh īka* =*bāhīka*.

675. In the *Kāśikā*, this *vārttika* is read as *sarvatra ajādi*—. Accordingly when a suffix beginning with a vowel is to be applied to the word *go*, the suffix *yat* is substituted for it. Thus *go* + *aṇ* = *go* + *ya* = *gav* + *ya* = *gavya* (*o* is changed to *av* by *PA* 6.1.78, *vānto yi pratyaye*).

676. It has been already explained above that when a *sūtra* mentions the *artha* (but not the suffix) and mentions the base only in a general way (by some case form of a pronoun), we have to understand the base on the basis of the *sūtra*, *samarthānāṁ prathamād vā* (*PA* 4.1.82), and the suffix *aṇ*. In the present *sūtra* P has laid down all the *pratyayas* (*uktāḥ vakṣyamāṇāś ca*) to a *samartha* (i.e. *kṛtasaṁdhi*) base standing in the genitive. Bh. has explained *sāmarthya* as *kṛtasandhikāryatva* and rightly so because a *śabda* gets its capacity to express its sense only after the *sandhi* operations are carried out (Read: *BM* on *sāmarthyam* under *PA* 4.1.82). Thus when *aṇ* (=*a*) is appended to *upagu*, we have *upagu*+*a*.

677. By the *sūtra yaci bham* (*PA* 1.4.18), the base *upagu* gets the designation *bha*. Now the present *sūtra* lays down that before a *taddhita* suffix the final *u* of a *bha* takes *guṇa*. By *tadantavidhi, oḥ* means *uvarṇāntasya* (*bhasya*, by *anuvṛtti*). Similarly by *PA* 7.2.117 the first vowel of the base takes *vṛddhi*. Thus ultimately we get *aupago* + *a* = *aupagava* (by *avādeśa*). The formation *daitya* has been already explained above.

678. The word *apatya*, it has to be noted, does not signify *putra* (son) alone. It signifies a descendant and includes *pautra* and further descendants also. In the present *sūtra* P has declared that descendants (*apatya*) from *pautra* (*putrasya putraḥ*) onward are designated *gotra*. The word *apatyam* can be got in this *sūtra* on the basis of *adhikāra*. But it has been purposely included in this *sūtra* to indicate that *pautra* etc. can be designated *gotra* only if they are intended to be mentioned as *apatya*. If, on the other hand, they are intended to be expressed as *pautra* etc. they cannot have the designation *gotra* (see *BM*).

679. In this *sūtra*, *apatyapratyayaḥ* is got as *viśeṣya* for *akaḥ* on the strength of *adhikāra* (*PA* 4.1.92 and *PA* 3.1.1). Furthermore, *ekaḥ* naturally means *ekaḥ eva*. Thus the present *sūtra* means that a base will have only one (*apatya pratyaya*) appended to it when *gotra* is to be conveyed. The illustration *aupagavaḥ* (*upagor gotrāpatyam*) is to be explained as above. Here the suffix is *aṇ*.

680 In this *sūtra*, the *pratyaya* enjoined is *yañ* (=*ya*), in which the mute *ñ* indicates *vṛddhi* of the first vowel in the base (*PA* 7.2.117). This *sūtra* is to be understood in the

light of the previous *sūtra* as laying down the (*aka*) *gotra pratyayaḥ*. The illustrations *gārgya* and *vātsya* are to be explained on the same lines as *aupagava*. The only additional point to be observed here is the elision of the final *a* in both the cases (by *yasyeti ca*, *PA* 6.4.148).

681. By *pratyayagrahaṇavidhi*, *yañ* and *iñ* mean *yañanta* and *iñanta* respectively. On the strength of *adhikāra* we have to understand the suffixes *yañ* and *iñ* as signifying *gotra*. Thus the present *sūtra* means that the *yañanta* and *iñanta* formations signifying *gotra* (*apatya*) will drop these suffixes when the plurality of the sense of the suffixes is to be conveyed. Thus *gārgya* is a *yañanta* formation from *garga*. Now when plurality is to be conveyed (i.e. *gargasya apatyāni*) the suffix *yañ* is elided and hence we shall have the plural formation *gargāḥ*. The word *vatsāḥ* also is to be similarly explained. Illustration for *iñanta* formation is *utsāḥ*.

It has to be noted, however, that this elision is prohibited in the case of feminine formations in these suffixes. In this *sūtra* we have the *anuvṛtti* of the whole of *PA* 2.4.62 but for the word *tadrājasya;* similarly the words *luk* and *gotre* are to be got from *PA* 2.4.58 and *PA* 2.4.63 respectively.

682. In this *sūtra* P has declared that if a *vaṁśya* (*pitrādi*) is alive, the *apatya* of the *pautra* (i.e. the fourth descendant) and the subsequent descendants will be designated *yuvan*. This means that the designation *gotra* will not be applicable to them. Thus we see how these three designations are to be distinguished from one another. The distinction, indicated in the formation by the *taddhita* suffixes, is to be specifically expressed in the analytical semantic explanation of these forma-

tions by using the word *apatyam, gotrāpatyam* and *yuvāpatyam* respectively. The first two have been already illustrated in Nos. 676, 679 above. Before illustrating the third, we have to take up two more *sūtras* which are requ red for these formations.

683. In this *sūtra, gotrāt* means *gotrapratyayāntāt, yūni* means when the sense *yuvāpatya* is to be conveyed. The word *apatya-pratyaya* is got by *adhikāra*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that the suffix denoting *yuvāpatya* is to be appended to a *gotrāpatya* formation only (and not to the simple base of that formation). The word *astriyām* in this *sūtra* shows that *yuvasaṁjñā* is not available in the feminine.

So now *yuvāpatya* is defined and it has also been ruled that *yuvāpatya* suffix is to be appended to *gotrāpatya* formation. Now we have to know the *yuvāpatya* suffix itself. For this we turn to the next *sūtra*.

684. By *pratyayagrahaṇa paribhāṣā, yañ* and *iñ* mean *yañanta* and *iñanta* formations respectively. By *adhikāra* these suffixes are to be understood as signifying *gotra*. The suffix *phak* (=*pha* = *āyan* see next *sūtra*) is *yuvāpatya* suffix. For it can be neither *apatya* suffix (which is applied to the simple base only), nor can it be *gotra* suffix (for the rule *ako gotre*, No. 679 prohibits it). The suffix *phak* is got here by *anuvṛtti*.

685. This *sūtra* tells us the substitutes for various letters standing at the beginning of the suffixes given by P. They are: *āyan* (for *pha*), *ey* (for *ḍha*), *in* (for *kha*), *īy* (for *cha*), and *iy* (for *gh*). It has to be observed that in all these *sthānins* (except the last one, namely *gh*) *akāra* is *uccāraṇārtha*.

Accordingly *phak*=*pha* (*k* is mute and hence dropped) = *āyana*. When this is applied to *gārgya*, we get *gārgyāyaṇa* (*n*

being changed to *ṇ* by *PA* 8.4.1-2). Here the base *gārgya* does not drop its *y* though an *apatya* (i.e. *yuvāpatya*) suffix is appended to it, because the suffix here begins with *ā* (see *PA* 6.4.151, *āpatyasya ca taddhite'nāti*). The formation *vātsyāyana* is to be similarly explained. Similarly from *dākṣi* (an *iñanta* formation) we have *dākṣāyaṇa*. In all these cases the final *a* or *i* is dropped before *āyana* according to *PA* 6.4.148, *yasyeti ca*.

686. In this *sūtra ataḥ* means *adantāt prātipadikāt*. The words *tasya apatyam* are got by *anuvṛtti;* and hence the present *sūtra* means that to an *adanta prātipadika* with a gen. case-ending, the suffix *iñ* is appended in the sense *apatya*. Mute *ñ* indicates *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the base. Thus *dakṣa* *+i* = *dākṣa+i* = *dākṣ+i* (final *a* dropped by *PA* 6.4.148) = *dākṣiḥ*.

687. This *sūtra* lays down *iñ* for *bāhu* etc. For this *gaṇa* see GRM. 3.203-7. To illustrate: *bāhu+i* = *bāho+i* (by *PA* 6.4.146, *or guṇaḥ*) = *bāhaviḥ* (*avādeśa*). Similarly *uḍuloman* *+i* = *auḍuloman+i* = *auḍulom+i* = *auḍulomiḥ*. *auḍulomī* is nom. du.

688. This *vārttika* lays down that *apatyārtha iñanta* formations from bases ending in *loman* change their final *i* to *a* before plr. case-endings. Hence *auḍulomi+as* = *uḍuloma+* *as* = *uḍulomāḥ*.

689. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *aṇ*, in the sense of *apatya*, for *śiva* and other words. For this *gaṇa* see *GRM*. 3.212-17. The illustration is *śaiva* (*vṛddhi* of the first vowel and elision of the final *a* of the base).

690. The word *strībhyaḥ* means words or formations ending in the feminine suffixes given by P in the fourth *adhyāya* of his work (and not all feminine words). Read: *Strīśabdena ṭābādyāḥ strīpratyayāś cāturthikā gṛhyante na tvanye'pi strīvācakāḥ/ vyākhyānāt/ BM*. The suffix *ḍhak* = *ḍha* = *eya* (see No. 685), mute *k* in which indicates *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the base (*PA* 7.2.118). Thus from *vinatā* we get *vainateya* (by *vṛddhi* of the first vowel and elision of the final *ā* by *PA* 7.2.118 and 6.4.148).

691. The word *tat* in this *sūtra*, on the basis of the *adhikāra* (*PA* 4.1.82) means, to a *samartha prātipadika* in the accusative. Since here the suffix is not specifically mentioned, we have to take *aṇ* (or some such suffix as may be available). Now *vyākaraṇam adhīte, veda* = *vyākaraṇa+a*. Here the following *sūtra* lays down a further operation.

692. Ordinarily before a *ṇit taddhita*, the first vowel of the base undergoes *vṛddhi*. But the present *sūtra* lays down an exception to this rule, declaring that a vowel preceded by a final *y* or *v* will not undergo *vṛddhi* before *kit* or *ñit* or *ṇit* suffixes. It further lays down the augments *ai* (in the case of *y*) and *au* (in the case of *v*) before *y* and *v* respectively. Thus *vyākaraṇa+a* = *vaiyākaraṇa+a* = *vaiyākaraṇ+a* = *vaiyākaraṇa*.

693. The word *rāgāt* means *rāgavācakāt prātipadikāt* and *tena* (*raktam*) means *tṛtīyāsamarthāt*. The suffix is not mentioned and hence it is *aṇ* (by *adhikāra*, No. 669 above). Thus to convey the sense *kaṣāyeṇa raktam* we have *kaṣāya aṇ* = *kāṣāyam*.

694. Here also the suffix *aṇ* is to be appended to a *devatāvācaka prātipadika* with the nom. case-ending. Thus from *paśupati+aṇ* we get *pāśupata* (to be similarly explained).

695. In this *sūtra* the word *tatra* is got by *anuvṛtti* and this means the suffix *aṇ* is appended to a *saptamyanta prātipadika* denoting some thing in which some *bhakṣa* (eatable) is prepared (*saṁskṛta*). Thus we get the formation *bhrāṣṭra a* = *bhrāṣṭrāḥ* (= *bhrāṣṭreṣu saṁskṛtā bhakṣāḥ*).

696. In this *sūtra* also *aṇ* is appended to a *saptamyanta prātipadika* denoting a place where one stays or is born. Thus *srughne bhavaḥ* = *srughna+a* = *sraughnaḥ*.

697. In this *sūtra* P defines the term *vṛddha* as a word, the first among the vowels in which is *vṛddhi* (i.e. the vowels *ā*, *ai*, *au*, see *vṛddhir ād aic*, *PA* 1.1.1).

698. In this *sūtra* P lays down that instead of *aṇ* the suffix *cha* (=*iya*) (see No. 685) is added to a *vṛddha* base (as defined in No. 697 in the same sense (i.e. *tatra bhavaḥ*). Thus *śālāyāṁ bhavaḥ* = *śālā+īya* = *śāl+īya* = *śālīya*.

699. In this *sūtra* also *tatra bhavaḥ* is got by *anuvṛtti* and thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffix *yat* for *diś* etc. in the sense *tatra bhavaḥ*. Thus we have *diśyam* (from *diś*) and *vargyam* (from *varga*). For *digādigaṇa* see *GRM* 5.339f.

700. Similarly *yat* is to be appended to a word denoting the part of the body in the same sense as above. Thus we have the formations *dantyam* and *kaṇṭhyam*.

701. This *vārttika* declares that the suffix *ṭhañ* (=*ṭha* = *ika*, see next rule) is appended to *adhyātma* and other words, for which see *Kāśikā*. Thus we get *ādhyātmika*.

702. In this *sūtra* P lays down that *ika* is to be substituted for the suffix *ṭha*. This is illustrated in the formation *ādhyātmikam*. The explanation of this formation is: *ātmani+iti adhyātmam* (*avyayībhāva* cf. *adhihari*); and then *adhyātmaṁ bhavam* = *adhyātma+ika* = *ādhyātmika*.

703. In this *sūtra* we get the words *pūrvapadasya cottarapadasya ca acām āder vṛddhiḥ* by *anuvṛtti*. For *anuśatikādi gaṇa*, see *Kāśikā* on PA 7.3.20. Thus this *sūtra* lays down that before suffixes having mute *ñ*, *ṇ* or *k* these bases take *vṛddhi* of the first vowel in both the constituent *padas*. Thus we get the formations *ādhidaivika*, *ādhibhautika*, *aihalaukika*, and *pāralaukika* formed by appending *ṭhañ* to (the *avyayībhāva* bases) *adhideva*, *adhibhūta* and (the *karmadhāraya* bases) *ihaloka* and *paraloka*.

704. In this *sūtra* the senses *vikāra* and *avayava* are got by *anuvṛtti*. Thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffix *yat* (= *ya*) for *go* and *payas* to convey the senses *vikāra* or *avayava*. Thus *goḥ vikāraḥ* = *go+ya* = *gav+ya* (by *PA* 6.1.78) = *gavyam*. Similarly from *payas* we get *payasyam*.

705. In this *sūtra* also the suffix *yat* is laid down for a word in the locative denoting some thing (or place) in which one is *sādhu* (adept, well-versed). Illustrations are *sāmanyaḥ*, *karmaṇyaḥ* (from *sāman* and *karman*). The bases ending in *a* drop their final *a* acc. to *PA* 6.4.148.

706. The word *tena* in this *sūtra* shows that the suffix *vati* (=*vat*) is to be appended to a *tṛtīyānta prātipadika* in the sense of *tulya*, provided that the *tulyatva* consists in *kriyā*. The word *tulyam* (*sāmānye napuṁsakam*) is to be under-

stood as *bhedaka* of *kriyā*. The illustration is *brāhmaṇena tulyam* (*adhīte*) = *brāhmaṇavad* (*adhīte*). It must be observed that *vat* cannot be appended if *kriyā* is not *tulya* (See *putreṇa tulyaḥ sthūlaḥ* given by Bh.).

707. The suffixes *tva* and *tal* are laid down for a *ṣaṣṭhyanta prātipadika* to denote *bhāva*, which is defined as *prakṛtyartha-bodhe prakāraḥ*.

708. This is a *liṅgānuśāsanasūtra* and lays down that a formation in *tva* will be neuter and that in *tal* (=*ta*) will be feminine (i.e. of course by adding *ṭāp* acc. to *PA* 4.1.4). Hence the illustrat'ons for these suffixes are: *gotvam* and *gotā* (both are analysed as *gor bhāvaḥ*).

709. The words *tad asya* are got here by *anuvṛtti;* and thus this *sūtra* means that the suffixes *dvayasac, daghnac* and *mātrac* are appended to a *prathamānta prātipadika* in the sense of *tad asya pramāṇam*. Illustrations are *ūrū pramāṇam asya* = *ūrudvayasam, ūrudaghnam,* and *ūrumātram*.

710. In this *sūtra* the suffix *matup* (=*mat*) is laid down after a *prathamānta prātipadika* denot'ng some thing which belongs to and exists in some person or place. Thus *gāvaḥ asya* (*asmin vā*) *santi* = *gomān*.

711. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ka* for a base to convey the sense *ajñāta*. Thus *aśvaka* means an *ajñāta* horse. The idea of *ajñātatva* is conveyed by the question *kasyāyam* (*aśvaḥ*).

712. Similarly the suffix *ka* conveys the idea *kutsita* (bad), so that *aśvaka* can also mean *kutsitaḥ aśvaḥ*.

713. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *akac* (=*aka*) for *avyayas* and *sarvanāmans;* and this suffix is to be infixed before

the *ṭi* (of the base). Thus *uccaiḥ+aka* = *uccaka+ais* = *uccakaiḥ*. Similarly are formed *nīcakaiḥ* from *nīcaiḥ* and *sarvake* from *sarve*. This suffix is appended without any change in the meaning.

714. The suffix *aṇ* is appended to *prajña* and other words (for this *gaṇa* see *GRM* 3.174-77) with no change in the sense. The suffix is *ṇit* and hence causes *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the base. Secondly the final *a* is elided by the rule *yasyeti ca*, *PA* 6.4.148; and thus we get the formation *prājña* (from *prajña*); *daivataḥ* (from *devatā*), and *bāndhava* (from *bandhu*). In this last illustration the final *u* takes *guṇa* (by No. 677 *or guṇah*) and then with *avādeśa* we get *bāndhava*.

Here ends the treatment of the *taddhitas*.

715. The feminine suffix *ṭāp* (=*ā*) has been already noticed above (No. 194) for words ending in *a* and also the words of the *ajādi gaṇa*. Now in this *sūtra* the suffix *ṅīp* (got by *anuvṛtti*) is being laid down for formations in *ugit* suffixes (i.e. suffixes having mute *u* or *ṛ*). Here *ugit* = *ugidanta* (by *pratyayagrahaṇaparibhāṣā*) *prātipadika* (by *adhikāra*). The illustration is : *gomat* (*go* + *matup*) + *ṅīp* = *gomatī*. Before *ī*, the base has the designation *bha* (by *yaci bham*, *PA* 1.4.18) and hence the final *t* is not changed to *d*.

716. This *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ṅīp* for *prātipadikas* ending in *ṭit* suffixes, and the suffixes *ḍha, aṇ, añ, dvayasac, daghnac, mātrac, tayap, ṭhak, ṭhañ, kañ* and *kvarap*. But this happens only if these formations are not *upasarjana* (for *upasarjana* see *PA* 1.2.43-44); and secondly when they are *adanta* (if at all they end in a vowel). Read: *ata iti sarvatrānuvartate/tat sati sambhave viśeṣaṇaṁ bhavati/ Kāś.* Thus

kurucarī illustrates *ṭitpratyayānta* base; while *nadī* and *devī* show that mute *ṭ* added to *prātipadikas* in the *gaṇapāṭha* is also meant to indicate the fem. suffix. *Sauparṇeyī* illustrates *ḍhapratyayānta;* while *aindrī* illustrates *aṇanta* bases. The words *sauparṇeya* and *aindra* are formed by appending *ḍhak* and *aṇ* to *suparṇa* and *indra* respectively.

717. This *sūtra* tells us that *aindra* is formed by appending *aṇ* to *indra* in the sense, it belongs to him.

The word *autsī* illustrates *añanta* formation, acc. to *PA* 4.1.86. Similarly *ūrudvayasī, ūrudaghnī* and *ūrumātri* illustrate the next three items. The other items have not been illustrated by our author.

718. This *sūtra* also lays down the suffix *ṅīp* to signify an *ākhyā* (name, designation) which, belonging to a male, applies to a female owing to her connection with the male. The word *gopī* is applied to the wife of a *gopa* (i.e. it is a designation which the wife gets on account of her connection with a *gopa*). Hence the fem. is formed by appending *ṅīp* to *gopa*.

719. This *vārttika* lays down that to the word *sūrya* the fem. suffix *cāp* is appended to denote *devatā*. Thus *sūryasya strī* (when it is) *devatā* = *sūrya+ā* = *sūryā*. But otherwise (i.e. when *devatā* is not intended, but only a human being) the fem. suffix to be appended is *ṅīp* only. Thus *sūryasya strī* (not *devatā*, but *mānuṣī*) = *sūrya+ī*.

720. At this stage comes another *vārttika* which lays down that before *ṅī* (i.e. the suffix *ī* represented by *ṅīn, ṅīp,* and *ṅīṣ*) as also before the suffix *cha,* the words *sūrya* and *agastya* drop

F.—17 A

their y. Hence *sūrya*+ī = *sūra*+ī = *sūr ī* (by *PA* 6.4.148) = *sūrī*, which means Kuntī. V has not given an illustration for *cha*, because it is not relevant at this place.

721. The word *manuṣyajāteḥ* is got in this *sūtra* by *anuvṛtti;* and *utaḥ* by *tadantavidhi* means *udantāt prātipadikāt* (by *adhikāra*). Thus this *sūtra* lays down the suffix *ūṅ* for a *prātipadika* (denoting a human being) ending in *u* (short). For instance, we take the word *kuru* (which satisfies the above conditions) and apply the fem. suffix *ūṅ* (=ū) to it. Mute *ṅ* prevents *guṇa* in the base; and thus we get *kurū*. Here V reminds us of the *paribhāṣā*, *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* (*Pbh.* 72) according to which the fem. formation can be designated *prātipadika* and hence *sup pratyayas* can be appended to it acc. to *PA* 4.1.1. Thus we have *kurūḥ* (nom. sg.).

722. In this *vārttika* the word *ca* shows that the fem. suffix *ūṅ* is to be applied to the word *śvaśura*. Before the suffix *ūṅ*, the word *śvaśura* drops its *u* (in *śu*) and *a* (in *ra*) and thus we get the formation *śvaśrūḥ*.

723 This *sūtra* comes after the *sūtra taddhitāḥ* (*PA* 4.1.76) which shows that the suffix *ti* enjoined by this *sūtra* is to be considered a *taddhita* suffix, which designation is not available to the other fem. suffixes. It is on account of this designation, that the formation *yuvati* can have the designation *prātipadika* (by *PA* 1.2.46) and hence can have *sup pratyayas* appended to it (by *PA* 4.1.1). The final *n* of *yuvan* is elided by *PA* 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.*

Here ends the treatment of *strīpratyayas.*

In the concluding verses our author declares that a work of 750 (*sūtras*) named the *sārasiddhāntakaumudī* (the moon-light of the principles of grammar in quintescence) has been composed by him, Varadarāja, son of Durgā (*durgātanaya*), for an (easy) access to the knowledge of the Vedas, for an (easy) access to all *śāstras*.

This declaration of Varadarāja has to be understood not too literally. And yet it is true that grammar does form a sort of entrance (i.e. introduction) to the *Vedavidyā*, nay to all sciences. Secondly it may be noticed that the number of *sūtras, vārttikas,* etc. (i.e. of the rules in the work) is 723 (which together with the *śiva-sūtras,* may be said to justify our author's declaration *sārdhasaptaśatī* approximately).

Here ends the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* composed by *Srī* Varadarājabhaṭṭa.

Appendix A

Pratyāhāras

I

Pratyāhāras based on the *Śiva-sūtras* :—

aḳ	—	*a, i, u, ṛ* (short, long, and prolated) and *ḷ* (short and prolated).
ac	—	All vowels.
aṭ	—	Vowels, semivowels, and *h*.
aṇ	—	(i) *a, i, u.* (short, long, and prolated), (ii) Vowels, semivowels, and *h*.
am	—	Vowels, semivowels, nasals, and *h*.
al	—	All letters of the Devanāgarī alphabet.
aś	—	Vowels, semivowels, and soft consonants.
iḳ	—	*i, u, ṛ, ḷ* (short, long and prolated).
ic	—	All vowels except *a* and *ā*.
iṇ	—	All vowels except *a* and *ā*, semivowels, and *h*.
uḳ	—	*u, ṛ, ḷ* (short, long, and prolated).
eṅ	—	*e, o*.
ec	—	*e, o, ai, au*.
aic	—	*ai, au*.
ḳhay	—	hard class consonants.
ḳhar	—	hard consonants.
ṅam	—	*ṅ, ṇ, n*.

cay — *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*.
car — *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*.
chav — *c*, *ch*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *t*, *th*.
jaś — *j*, *b*, *g*, *ḍ*, *d*.
jhay — All class letters except nasals.
jhar — All class lettres except nasals, *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s*.
jhal — All class letters except nasals, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* and *h*.
jhaś — *g*, *gh*, *j*, *jh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*.
jhaṣ — *gh*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, *bh*.
baś — *g*, *ḍ*, *d*, *b*.
bhaṣ — *gh*, *ḍh*, *dh*, *bh*.
may — All class letters except *ñ*.
yañ — Semivowels, nasals, *jh*, *bh*.
yaṇ — Semivowels.
yam — Semivowels, and nasals.
yay — All class letters and semivowels.
yar — All consonants except *h*.
ra — *r*, *l*.
ral — All consonants except *y* and *v*.
val — All consonants except *y*.
vaś — Last three consonants of each class, *v*, *r*, and *l*.
śar — *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*.
śal — *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *h*.
hal — All consonants.
haś — The last three consonants of each class, semi-vowels, and *h*.

Appendix A

II

Pratyāhāras based on Pāṇini's *sūtras* :—

āp	—	All case endings from instr sg. upto loc. plr. (both inclusive)
kṛñ *	—	The roots *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as*.
taṅ	—	All *ātmanepada* personal endings.
tiṅ	—	All personal endings.
tṛn *	—	All the suffixes enjoined in *sūtras* from *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau* (*PA* 3.2.124) upto *tṛn* (*PA* 3.2.135)
suṭ	—	The first five case endings.
sup	—	All case endings.

* These forms particularly represent the verbal root *kṛ* and the suffix *tṛ*. But Patañjali and the later commentators take them as *pratyāhāra* in *PA* 3.1.40 and 2.3.69 respectively. Elsewhere, however, they represent their usual meaning only.

Appendix B

LETTERS OF THE DEVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET

I

CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PLACE OF ORIGINATION

स्थानम्	वर्णाः		
कण्ठः	अ, कवर्ग, ह, विसर्ग	ए, ऐ	ओ, औ with ओष्ठौ
तालु	इ, चवर्ग, य, श		
मूर्धा	ऋ, टवर्ग, र, ष		
दन्ताः	लृ, तवर्ग, ल, स	व	
ओष्ठौ	उ, पवर्ग, उपध्मानीय		
नासिका	अनुस्वार	ङ, ञ, ण, न, म together with कण्ठ etc.	
जिह्वामूल	जिह्वामूलीय		

II

CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO INTERNAL EFFORT

आभ्यन्तरः प्रयत्नः	स्पृष्ट	ईषत्स्पृष्ट	ईषद्विवृत	विवृत	संवृत
वर्णाः	क वर्ग		ह	स्वराः	अ in प्रयोग
	च वर्ग	य	श		
	ट वर्ग	र	ष		
	त वर्ग	ल	स		
	प वर्ग	व			

III

CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EXTERNAL EFFORT

बाह्यः प्रयत्नः	विवार, श्वास, अघोष		संवार, नाद, घोष		उदात्त, अनुदात्त, स्वरित, संवार, नाद, घोष, अल्पप्राण
	अल्पप्राण	महाप्राण	महाप्राण	अल्पप्राण	
वर्णाः	क	ख, ह	घ	ग ङ	
	च	छ, श	झ	ज ञ य	
	ट	ठ, ष	ढ	ड ण र	स्वराः
	त	थ, स	ध	द न ल	
	प	फ	भ	ब म व	

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Important and technical words explained in the Notes:-

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